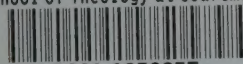


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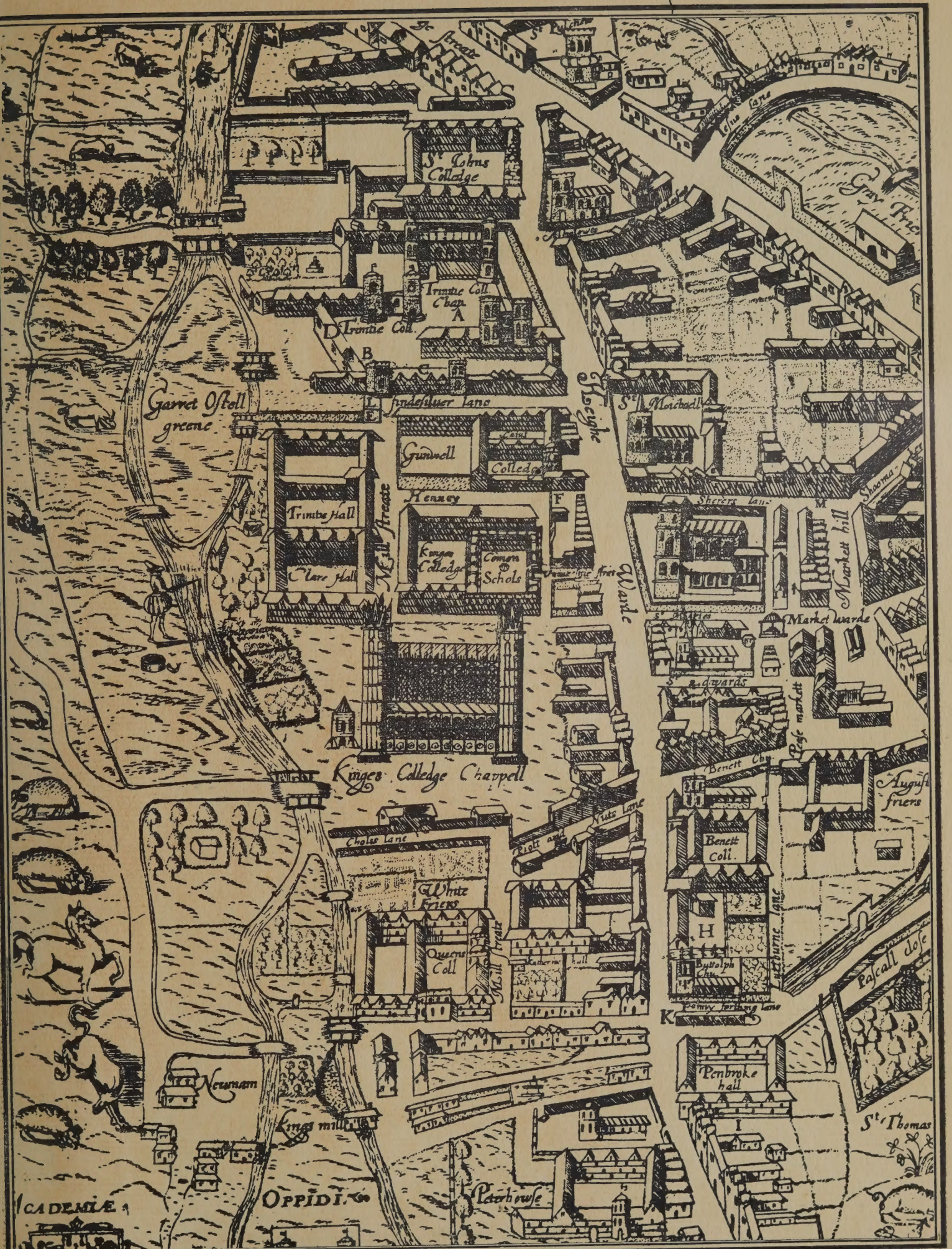
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CLARE COLLEGE

1326-1926

VOLUME I





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SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY  
AT CLAREMONT  
California









From a painting, *circa* 1730, attributed to George Lambert



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Cambridge. University. Clare College

# CLARE COLLEGE

1326 - 1926

UNIVERSITY HALL

1326 - 1346

CLARE HALL

1346 - 1856



*VOLUME I*

CAMBRIDGE  
PRINTED FOR THE COLLEGE  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1928



PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN



*A*<sup>N</sup> image dance of change  
Throngs my dim-sighted flesh.  
To music's air-built mesh  
Move thoughts forever strange.  
I am so woven of sense  
And subtlety uncharted  
That I must vanish hence  
Blind-souled and twilight-hearted.  
Soon death the hooded lover  
Shall touch my house of clay,  
And life-lit eyes discover  
That in the warbling grey  
I have been early waking,  
And while the dawn was breaking  
Have stolen afield to find  
That secrecy which quivers  
Beyond the skies and rivers  
And cities of the mind.

Till then, my thought shall strive  
That living I may not lose  
The wonder of being alive,  
Nor Time's least gift refuse,  
For, though the end be night,  
This wonder and this white  
Astonishment of sight  
Make hours of magic shine;  
And heaven's a blaze and bloom  
Of transience and divine  
Inheritance of doom.

SIEGFRIED SASSOON

[*Clare*, 1905]

Carlson, Leland







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## INTRODUCTION

In composing a foreword to a book which was originally meant to consummate by its appearance the Sexcentenary activities of July 1926, two things come uppermost to mind—the delay in publication and the recent decision to publish in two volumes. To take the latter first, three points in explanation should suffice. As to matter, there is now more than twice the amount in either volume than was intended in the single book as originally projected; as to format, this vast increase of contents could not have been bound up into either a wieldy or a sightly single volume; and, lastly, to persevere with the intention to publish in a single book would have increased incalculably the chances of further delay.

As it is, the second volume (to which a general index will be appended) should not lag far behind.

The cloud of enormity in delay will, no doubt, in large measure be dissipated by the solid and bulky apparition which we here at last reveal. Lest, however, some querulousness remain unshed, we are fain to refer it to the mountain country we have had to traverse, with no little effort and with the leisure of two years impressed for what turned out in great part unexpectedly to be, and very much against time, a journey of exploration.

The obstacles encountered have formed, in effect, two very different groups, with steepes that were in one case utterly forbidding, sheer obstacle, but beyond them others, which those first delays gave full occasion to discern, and which, when afterwards explored, shewed up as true Clare country, well dowered with relevancies of delight as well as sustenance. Thus frustrating causes and excuses for delay came indirectly to be responsible for fruitful causes which, far from being unavoidable, were courted, under the sway of an imperative to produce a volume that should at least not do remorseful injustice to the rich significance of a glimpsed perfection.

Thus the far-reaching contrariness of the General Strike, and the sharper coincident distractions caused by, e.g. the recasting of the College Statutes and the distressing breakdown which removed at the crucial stage a chief participant, Mr Wardale—such troublous hindrances have been in the long run offset, we claim, by a much more varied and comprehensive, and in several senses a better balanced book.

In this volume, for instance, Chapter IV has had its contents trebled, while not merely the addition of Chapter V but its very conception took root in the barren period following the General Strike. When, too, the University printing presses

## INTRODUCTION

were temporarily silenced the first three chapters were also extended by the additions to Mr Dorling's account of the family of de Clare, by the incorporation in Chapter III of other external opinion supporting Mr Murray Easton's appraisal of the virtues of Old Court, and by a much altered and amplified treatment of Chapter II, which in its first narrow limits could only have bristled rather repellantly with curt facts and statistics.

These additions to Chapters I and II are essentially topographical, and were promoted by the desire to chart and, in a stimulating sense, to advertise for Clare men, whether "up" or "down," the extent and the more interesting ramifications of the College complex. Since space, however, has, after all, been limited, it was thought best to select for special treatment the most interesting of the nearby places which an undergraduate could easily visit while up at Clare, most notably our name-place and foundress's township of Clare, not thirty miles away, in Suffolk, and close to each other and in an opposite quarter from Cambridge, the village of Great Gransden and the settlement of Little Gidding, where are enshrined respectively the bodies and memories of Barnabas Oley, chief contriver of Old Court, and of Nicholas Ferrar, who essayed to contrive, we venture to suspect, a Utopian new world in Virginian America.

Great Gransden, two years ago, was to take its chance, so to speak, on a parity with Rotherhithe or Patrington in Chapter II; Little Gidding as chief adjunct to Ferrar, in the swollen biographical stream of Chapter IV. That each, in our final scheme, should enjoy the autonomy of a separate chapter (VIII and IX of Vol. II) is rather more for Gransden's sake than for Oley's in one case, and much less for Little Gidding's than for Ferrar's in the other. For we would wish to redress the balance of evaluation in the case of Ferrar, and to extol, above the far less pregnant, retreatist activities of Little Gidding, the comprehensive urgency of Ferrar's earlier pragmatic vision of a world of educated, capable and blithely satisfied human beings—a State to be first realised (in what we hold to be his grand immediate ideal) in a new world, in America. At Gidding, however, the bias of biography continues to choose to locate the *arcanum* of his essential spirit, and (in the absence of standards more stringently keyed to a high, humane utilitarianism) to see 'at his best' this once uniquely active altruist when, subdued by a subjective visionariness and trammelled by practices whose rigorous devotional assiduity have attracted more attention than their irrelevance, Ferrar turned the strangely persuasive light of *his* countenance away from the welter of politics, throughout a decade that was festering into the disease of that Civil War which he of all men then living was perhaps best able to avert.

America, then, more importantly than 'neighbourhood topography,' has won for



## APOLOGIA; SOME VIRTUES OF DELAY

Ferrar *and* for Little Gidding their release from Chapter IV, a release which adds to the biographical balancing of 'administrative' Chapter IX (= Chap. IV of Vol. II) against 'administrative' Chapter IV a further internal balancing of the *Americana* in either chapter against the *Americana* in the other. Nevertheless, it has been a real delight to treat of Ferrar and of Barnabas Oley (first friends at Clare, fast friends afterwards in nearby parishes) in adjoining separate chapters of the book, and in merited isolation amidst the local community-organisms of which each formed—Oley for nearly half a century—the beating heart and the controlling head. The Rev. A. J. Edmonds' great contribution to this result must be reserved for what we may say, residually, about Chapter VIII in the preface to Volume II. Sufficient for the day that in relieving two overweighted chapters of Volume I we have been able, by virtue of delay, to develop our neighbourhood intentions in such a way as to infuse into a better balanced compendium a certain freshening variety, by giving two choice biographies at fuller length in an atmosphere, for the most part, of country-sweet seclusion.

Other factors of balance need less argumentative indication. Oley's architectural activities at Gransden weigh, in symmetrically opposite chapters (III and VIII = III of Vol. II), with the Old Court buildings he so chiefly begot: the contents of Chapters VI (Plate, woodwork, etc.) and VII (The Library) both balance against the inventorial aspects of Chapters II and III, and fill up, so to speak, the quadrangular shell of Chapter III with much interior substance. A certain pleasure-spirit of strenuous impulsiveness in Chapters V and X (Athletics) at once attunes these to each other, and contrasts them with the more 'responsible' contents of Chapters IV and IX, preceding each.

It is time, however, to acknowledge our obligations. The number of these is less embarrassing than is the range of their relative importance and variety to one who is faced with the graceless task of classifying gratitudes succinctly. We have been at pains, it is true, to acknowledge, with some may think almost otiose punctilio, in specific contexts throughout the book, and to recapitulate to the extent we now intend may seem, to some, absurd. But not so very long ago an index was not considered an important item in the amenity of the printed book, and even to-day a prime essential of the index, the categorising of leading subject-matters, is usually slighted if not entirely burked; while, more or less blind from birth, the mapless travel book is still a common blunderer about the world of print. In brief, we have thought of more than one good reason why, e.g., it might be of service to have here collected, as we have collected, in distinct groups, the derivations of many of the photographs, line blocks, etc., that are scattered throughout the book.

## INTRODUCTION

But our first tribute must go, as each chapter in its turn comes up for comment, to those who have assisted with such enthusiasm to provide (for this volume) the text.

The account of the House of Clare was wholly written by the Rev. E. E. Dorling (Clare College 1881), who also procured the plates (II, V, VI) of the seals, of the Tewkesbury knights (III, IV, VII, VIII), of Kirkham (XI) and of Tonbridge Castle (XI, XII, XIII), and, by kind permission of H.M. Stationery Office, the Westminster Abbey shield of Clare (XIV). Mr Dorling, further, suggested and took endless trouble to perfect the heraldic colour plate which ushers in with so stirring a fanfare the great family that is his theme.

For the text of the section entitled "Memorials of the de Clares" we are principally indebted to Mr W. J. Harrison, who moreover paid a timely visit to Tewkesbury, Chepstow, and other western domain lands of the family, and returned with the excellent photographs reproduced on Plates X and XX. Mr Harrison also took the photographs for the reproductive blocks from which we compiled Plates XXI and XXII, while Plate IX's two fine interiors of Tewkesbury were secured through Mr R. E. Priestley from his friend the photographer, Mr A. W. Hughes, who submitted with them others we would dearly have liked to reproduce. The third and concluding section, "The Foundation of the College," was written by Mr Wardale.

After the writers of Chapter I, we must thank a number of friends connected with Clare in Suffolk who responded with lively zeal to requests for help to compile its section on "Memorials." Lady May of Clare Priory (to whom also we owe Fig. 1 of Plate XV) from the first encouraged rather than permitted visits, and freely lent plans, papers, pictures, etc. More recently, she has twice most generously entertained large visiting parties—of undergraduates, and of College servants. Lady St John Hope (widow of the famous antiquary, Sir William St John Hope, once resident at Nethergate House (p. 21) in Clare) was equally ready with assistance, and it is to her we principally owe the map and engraving on Plate XVI. To Colonel Bond, now occupant of Nethergate House, we are indebted for the loan of his interesting paper on Clare, and for the more recent kindness which made him devote the greater part of a rainy day to guiding the College servants about the township. Canon Vatcher, Vicar of Clare, and an old Clare man, has also given loyal assistance. Our obligation to the *Proceedings of the Bury and West Suffolk Archaeological Institute* is acknowledged on page 24. In an attempt, so far abortive, to recover a hearsay tradition of our foundress's charitable deeds and temper when resident at her castles of Usk and Haverfordwest, we were aided by the Secretary for Education and by the County Librarian of Pembrokeshire. Worse than this failure has been our ignorance, until it was too late to draw upon them, of the preservation, amongst the Exchequer Rolls, of the household accounts of



## CHAPTERS I AND II

Elisabeth de Clare; and, more, that these accounts have been worked up, by Miss C. A. Musgrave, in a thesis (called "The Household of Elisabeth de Burgh") which lies deposited and as yet unpublished in the Library of the University of London. Mr Geoffrey Webb, late of Magdalene College, who wrote the articles in *Country Life* on Clare in Suffolk (issue of 7 August 1926) and on the College (issues of 3 and 10 July 1926), informs us

that the documents number between ninety and a hundred, and afford an extraordinarily detailed account of her daily expenditure, the officers of her household, and her journeyings from Clare to Usk and to Bardfield, with details as to her guests at various times. A really detailed examination of the accounts would undoubtedly provide a great deal of amusing personal information about her.... The outstanding fact that emerges from Miss Musgrave's work...is that the friendship with Marie de St Pol [Countess of Pembroke and foundress, in 1347, of Pembroke College] was a very real thing. E. de B. used to visit her at Fotheringhay; indeed after the Lady de Clare settled down to her third widowhood this seems to have been the only house except her own she did visit. There are entries in the accounts recording Christmas presents to Marie de St Pol, and it is further shewn that Marie came to visit E. de B. at Usk just before she took in hand the founding of Pembroke College.

We should add that yet another towardly thesis has been compiled, still more recently, on the history of Clare, Suffolk, by another University of London student who, however, hails from Clare itself—Miss G. A. Thornton. Perhaps parts at least of these theses might be published, by arrangement, in successive College magazines, a device similar to that by which parish histories (cf. Great Gransden in Chapter VIII of Volume II) are published in book form after off-printing from serial instalments in some county or local periodical. And should these theses, revealing as they do the crucial intimacy of our foundress with the foundress of Pembroke College, give urge to a second Sexcentenary book, of Pembroke College, the pious and fruitful friendship of two pre-eminent women would indeed be finely rounded off.

Passing next to the authors of Chapter II.

For the account of the College estates and for the preamble to that of the College livings, as well as for the first draft of the account of the latter, we are, once more, in debt to Mr Wardale. The account of Rotherhithe is mainly all too brief and elliptical an abstract of the parish history compiled by Canon Beck (late Senior Fellow of Clare). Here our chief adjuvant was the Rev. Andrew Amos (Clare 1882), Rector of Rotherhithe, and donor, to mark our Sexcentenary, of the fine 'Amos Cup' by the early eighteenth-century craftsman Willaume (cf. Chap. VI). Mr Amos also wrote an interesting account of Datchworth (p. 69), which has undergone, alas, the common fate of surgical abridgement. Nine of the Rotherhithe illustrations we owe to his loan of the blocks used for Beck's *Rotherhithe* (cf. Plates II Fig. 2, III, IV Fig. 2, V Fig. 1, and VII), or to his personal intervention to achieve good photographs (Fig. 1 of Plates II and IV). The Rotherhithe church

## INTRODUCTION

plate (p. 44) was specially inspected and described by Mr E. Alfred Jones (Fellow Commoner (in 1913-14) of the College and author of the section in Chapter VI devoted to the College plate). The Rev. D. L. Bryce wrote the account of the Mission. In the neighbourhood (Cambridgeshire) contexts of Litlington, Duxford and Everton, Mr Harrison again helped greatly in the task of formulation, while in the distasteful work of abridgement he proved hardly less incisive than did the Rev. H. W. Fulford in respect of Patrington. As to Patrington, Litlington, Everton and Datchworth we also received assistance, respectively, from the Rev. E. J. M. Roberts, the Rev. M. de Courcy Ireland, the Rev. H. R. Hall (Clare 1882) and the Rev. Benjamin Reed (Clare 1874), of whom the last three were at pains to have their valuable old silver pieces properly estimated and photographed. We later explain why the three illustrations to the account of Everton have had to be transferred to Plate XXV of Chapter IV. Professor Allan Mawer of the University of Liverpool, Director of the Place-name Survey of Great Britain, most kindly supplied us with derivations of the various parish names, while to a more recent pupil of Professor Chadwick, Mr H. M. Bell (Clare 1925-7), we are deeply indebted for much timely assistance, spontaneously tendered. Mr Bell not only procured much information by research in the University Library, etc., but gave further valuable help in the task of formulation. In particular, his draft abridgement of the history of Great Gransden is the basis of Chapter VIII, and instigated the decision to remove the Gransden matter from Chapter II for treatment as a self-integrating entity in Volume II. By the kindness of Mr F. H. Crossley of Chester (who took so many of the photographs for Francis Bond's great *English Church Architecture*) we were able to draw on his enormous store of Gothic architectural photographs, and to choose from some fifty excellent views of Patrington the eleven photographs reproduced on Plates X, XI, XII, XIII and XVII. Mr Crossley generously waived the usual fee for copyrights, and took, moreover, unusual pains to provide the most suitable kinds of print for reproduction—as might, no doubt, be inferred, from Plate XVII particularly.

In Chapter III we must record the solitary instance of dependence, essentially, upon an outside author. A Clare-bred architectural critic of proven calibre was not available, and even if he had been, we should, perhaps, have pretended to have forgotten him. Such a *critique* we think too nice a matter to have subjected to the risk of homœopathic *réclame*. Mr Hope Bagenal, Librarian of the Architectural Association (and joint author with Mr Robert Atkinson of that classic textbook, as yet only one-third published, *The Theory and Elements of Architecture*), was first approached. On his advice the choice fell on Mr J. Murray Easton, one of the



### CHAPTER III: AUTHORSHIP AND ILLUSTRATIONS

leading younger architects practising the modern aesthetic based on structural economy (and so not likely to be too favourably prejudiced) and a lucid critical writer in architectural periodicals. Mr Easton is, accordingly, responsible for pages 83 to 97 and 100 to 113 of Chapter III. His broadly analytical treatment could not, we think, be bettered, and makes it quite clear, above all in relation to the west block and river front (pp. 93-7), that our buildings really are of exceptional interest, in a transitional capacity as might-have-been promoter of a definitely English-hybrid classical style, freely evolving on a basis of traditional Gothic towards a genuine mutual assimilation of Gothic and Neo-classic elements. We are also indebted once more to Mr Wardale (pp. 114-116), to Mr Geoffrey Webb, and to Mr R. R. Tatlock, editor of *The Burlington Magazine*, for permission to quote extensively from two articles (cf. footnote to p. 111) which represent an important Engagement in the Grand Campaign being waged by Mr Webb to evoke or to resuscitate a due sense of the benefits we owe to the master-mason designers and to the architects, *other* than Inigo Jones or Wren, of the seventeenth and of the eighteenth centuries.

The Rev. H. F. F. Williams (Clare 1904), then on leave from India, kindly relieved us of the ticklish task of describing (cf. pp. 122 and 124), in relevant *précis* from Willis Clark's and Gray's *Old Plans of Cambridge*, the four old plans we have used as end-papers.

For the illustrations of this, the most fully pictured of our chapters, much acknowledgment must be reserved for the distinct derivational groupings already fore-announced. Three particular Cambridge friends of our enterprise must however be thanked at once. Mr F. L. Attenborough, then Fellow of Emmanuel College, took the photograph for Fig. 1 of Plate XII, and other views which there was not space to use. Mr G. E. Briggs, Fellow of St John's College, took Fig. 1 of Plate XIX and, in Chapter V, Fig. 2 of Plate IX, besides several photographs which will not appear till Volume II and others that cannot be published; he, further, put himself to frequent inconvenience, not only to get the best results but also to discuss the composition, etc., of many views which but for his scientific and critical acumen must in some measure have miscarried. Finally Mr H. Tomlinson, of Christ's College and of the Faculty of Architecture, produced, against almost prohibitive odds, the distinguished prospect of Clare we reproduce (opposite page 120) at the end of Chapter III. This 'Loggan up-to-date' is the second of a series we implore Mr Tomlinson to complete. For the use of the fine old wet-plate photographs reproduced on Plates IV, V, VI Fig. 2, XV Fig. 2, XVI, XIX Fig. 2, XXI Fig. 2, XXV, XXXI, XLI, XLII, and XLIII, we are indebted to another Cambridge resident, Mrs Clennett, widow of a leading local photographer of mid-Victorian days, who

## INTRODUCTION

put them with spontaneous generosity completely at our disposal. Mr Blackall, of Hills and Saunders, informs us that some of these views were taken, actually, by his predecessors of that firm, Mr Clennett having subsequently purchased the photographic plates.

In concluding Chapter III, we must express a regret and correct a rather absurd erratum. On page 98 the gates shewn are those from the Backs to the Avenue, and are to west, not east. That lack of space has not permitted an appraisal of the new building is not altogether a misfortune, since Sir Giles Gilbert Scott's design is as yet hardly one-third part finished, and with a second stage in the long march towards completion to start so shortly, we may well await, before presuming to criticise, the further development of his ingenious scheme.

The authorship of Chapter IV has been shared with Mr Wardale, to whom most of its first half is due. The accounts of our Maryland Americans, Charles Carroll and the Dulanys (pp. 168-74), and also of William Allen of Philadelphia (p. 176) and of John Penn, grandson of the founder of Pennsylvania, are very largely based on *American Members of the Inns of Court* by Mr E. Alfred Jones (p. 175). A word should be said as to the chronological arrangement of this chapter, between pages 160 and 193. Mr Jones had drawn our attention to these important American *alumni* of the mid-eighteenth century, protagonists in the constitutional issues leading to the American war, and it would have been absurd not to place them immediately with the lives of Newcastle, Charles Townshend, and Cornwallis, names which had already conferred some notorious prominence upon the eighteenth-century phase of our connections with history, in relation, particularly, to the then almost disastrous break with England's earliest and most valuable colonies. But, in addition to Mr Jones, two other prominent Clare men have recently been connected with America, the late Mr Cecil Sharp (Clare 1879) and Dr Rendel Harris (Clare 1870), and on pages 174-5 and 177-8 we indicate how natural it was to pass directly from Maryland and from Virginia to take not only our recent connections with the New England of Puritan and of Friend, but also, three centuries earlier, the great originating influence of two Clare men, Henry Barrow and Thomas Cartwright, on the Puritan movement itself (pp. 178-84). The ardours and endurances of these two men were potent factors in the crisis that led to the sailing of the *Mayflower*, and when we reflect on Rendel Harris's gleanings of the *Mayflower* aftermath (pp. 189-93); on the fact that Nicholas Ferrar (Chapter IX, Vol. II) must generously have intermediated to the Pilgrim Fathers their first (Virginian) charter; and, lastly, that a Clare man, Mr R. C. Anderson (Clare 1902), designed and partly built the *Mayflower*-type ship model (cf. p. 191 and Plates XIV, XV and XVIII of Chapter



## CHAPTER IV

IV), we need not perhaps excuse ourselves for a thematic wafting of the *Mayflower* to and fro about the book (cf. Vol. I, Chap. II, Plates I, V, XVIII and XIX; Chap. IV, Plates XIV, XV, XVIII and XXVIII; Chap. V, Plate IX). And this is surely the place to put on record our gratitude to Rendel Harris for his response to an urgent appeal for aid, as well as to R. C. Anderson and to the Editor of *The Mariner's Mirror* for the loan of the blocks from which Plates XIV, XV and XVIII Fig. 1 have been reproduced. On both these *Mayflower* protagonists (cf. p. 192) recent honours have descended as, conveniently, we go to press; for Dr Harris has become a Fellow of the British Academy, while Mr Anderson has been appointed one of the five trustees of the new National Naval Museum to be set up in Inigo Jones' 'Queen's House' at Greenwich, and has undertaken, *The Times* for November 22 informs us, to arrange the ship-models section of the Museum. For drawing our attention to Mr Anderson's distinction we have to thank his and our own friend, also an authority on ships—Mr H. H. Brindley of St John's College, upon whose multifarious store of knowledge we have frequently been glad to draw. Our library's rare *Americana*, and Nicholas Ferrar's magnificent fight for a Utopian Virginia in the great five years of the Sandys-Ferrar administration of the Virginian Company (1618–23), we reserve for Chapters VII and IX of Volume II.

We cannot conclude this account of Chapter IV without thanking, first, the Bursar of Rossall School for his efforts to secure for us a photograph of the oil painting of George Hull Bowers (pp. 196–7), the founder of the school, and secondly our friend Captain E. Lloyd Jones of Uppingham School, for his aid in our search for a contemporary likeness of Archdeacon Robert Johnson (p. 137), the founder, under Queen Elizabeth, of Uppingham and of Oakham Schools.

We are very conscious of many defects in Chapter IV, and can only plead that we had to take over from Mr Wardale, after his breakdown, in a positively orchestral crescendo of preoccupations. Though our solitary Premier, Newcastle, if a kindly, was not a great man, his long manipulation of Cambridge University, in his capacity as its Chancellor, affords a very interesting and amusing example of the phenomenal nature of Whig politics in the eighteenth century, and to have had no time to read and to draw on *The University of Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century*, by Mr D. A. Winstanley, of Trinity College, was mortifying in the extreme. We can only hope that many of our readers will make good for themselves, and meanwhile thank Mr Winstanley for information tendered and advice given, more than once, in personal conversation.

Our account of that noble and lovable character, Charles Cornwallis, is even more regrettably defective; that he did not, however, stay out the undergraduate

## INTRODUCTION

course at Clare gives pause to our impulse to acclaim Mr Fulford's opinion (cf. the current *Lady Clare Magazine*, Michaelmas, 1927)—“without doubt he was our most distinguished *alumnus*—a great soldier and administrator—the only man who has ever combined the two exalted offices of Viceroy of India and Commander-in-Chief.” We heartily wish, though, that it were still possible to incorporate Mr Fulford's stimulating sketch of a man whose “rare combination of vigour and humanity” caused Lord Rosebery, for instance, to speak of “the sterling splendour of his character” and whose “extraordinary popularity” was such that, e.g., “after more than a century his memory is still revered in India. From time to time Hindus make obeisance and offerings of fruit and flowers before his statue. One of them, asked by an Englishman why this was done, replied: ‘His spirit is a powerful protection against misfortune. He was a man of great compassion and wrought much good for the Indian people.’”

Other grave deficiencies might easily occur to readers of Mr Wardale's *Clare* (published 1899) in the College Histories Series (now the property of Messrs Hutchinson & Co., Ltd.). Sir Thomas Richardson, for instance, was “Speaker of the House of Commons in 1621, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1626, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1631”—but was he, without shadow of doubt, a Clare man? Unable to make certain, or to consult Mr Wardale who had not mentioned him in his contribution to this book, we were constrained by other evidence, albeit rather negative, to leave him out.

The *rationale* of Chapter v is given on its opening page (p. 203). The account of Robert Greene, the Elizabethan dramatist, was kindly written for us by Mr R. C. Bald (now Reader in English at Adelaide University) while in residence at Clare in 1926, as a research student of the College. Mr G. B. Harrison, Lecturer in English Literature at King's College, University of London, kindly obtained for us the loan from Messrs John Lane of the line blocks of the title pages (pp. 206–7) of two works edited by himself in “The Bodley Head Quartos” series. We are grateful for the opportunity to thank Professor G. C. Moore Smith of the University of Sheffield for his admirable edition of Ruggle's *Club Law*, without which our account of that play (pp. 208–11) could not possibly have been written.

The biography of Cecil Sharp (pp. 258–63) was very kindly composed for us by his especial friend Mr Paul Oppé, of H.M. Office of Education, and well known as an art critic. It was Mr Oppé who, after Sharp's death, completed and saw through the press his charming book *The Dance*. For the long footnotes to pages 259 and 260 we are indebted, *via Country Life*, to Mrs Shulldham Shaw, Hon. Secretary of the English Folk Dance Society and of the Cecil Sharp Memorial



## DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

Fund; she also procured for us—on loan at no little inconvenience from the Society—the blocks used on Plate XXVII of Chapter IV and for Plate X and Plate XI Fig. 2 of Chapter V, as well as the special Cecil Sharp Memorial Number of the *E.F.D.S. Journal*, on the various and important eulogies of which we would gladly, time permitting, have taken toll.

Professor E. J. Dent has recently perused our rather makeshift life (pp. 263–8) of Denis Browne, and has prompted several corrections. Mr E. S. Baring Gould, of Lew Trenchard, son of our late Honorary Fellow, kindly supplied, for us to choose from, a number of portraits of his father. The Marquis of Bristol readily allowed us to make further use in Plate XII of the Ickworth Hogarth as reproduced in *Country Life*. In both Chapters IV and V we owe to the Master and Fellows of St John's College—and in particular to their Librarian, Mr C. W. Previt -Orton—the illustrations of Ruggle's *Ignoramus* (pp. 143–4) and of his *Club Law* on Plate XIII of Chapter IV and Plates II and III of Chapter V. Through Mr F. A. Towle, Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society, we secured the permission of the President and Council of the Royal Society to reproduce the portrait of George Parker, second Earl of Macclesfield, P.R.S.

We are only too well aware that this chapter has been relatively starved of illustrations, but nowhere could we discover a likeness of the amiable Ruggle, while, it must be felt, the *dramatis personae* of Chapter V are in general on a lower level of personality than the run of responsible administrators in Chapter IV. But we cannot blame our readers for being curious to know what Dodd or Phillipot or Plumptre looked like, and we do blame ourselves for having failed to include a portrait of a very different figure, Denis Browne.

In most chapters (cf. pp. 68–9) of this volume we have made use of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but, while labouring, in the nick of time, on Chapters IV and V, our reliance on that great work became so incessant that we felt bound to consult the Secretary to the Delegates as to their general policy in respect of 'plagiarism.' This was, unfortunately, since immediate reassurance was imperative, in the middle of the Long Vacation of 1926: our relief, therefore, must be imagined when a few days later we received from Mr Kenneth Sisam the generous letter from which we may be permitted this quotation: "our Delegates do not meet until October but I have no hesitation in saying they will gladly give you permission to use the relevant articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as you think fit for such purpose as your Sexcentenary book of Clare. . . It seems to me that the purpose for which D.N.B. is used is of more importance than the extent of indebtedness, and that your purpose must claim the sympathy of the Delegates."

## INTRODUCTION

To Mr William Paige, the Secretary of a similarly vast and invaluable treasury of information, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, we owe a similar permission—to draw extensively for Chapter I on the articles on Tonbridge and Clare Castles, etc., in the Victoria Histories, respectively, of Kent and of Suffolk, and to reproduce the relevant plans. Lack, once more, of space has alone prevented us from making fuller use of these generous permissions.

Through Mr Humphrey Milford, Manager of the Oxford University Press, we are able to present the view of S. Mary's, Oxford, on page 51, and indirectly, as well, the photographs of the Patrington capitals on Plates X, XI, and XIII of Chapter II, all of which occur in *English Church Architecture* by Francis Bond, whose photograph of Patrington (Plate IX) was also made available through Mr Milford. Through information courteously supplied by the Secretary of the Clarendon Press, Mr R. W. Chapman, we were able to give *verbatim*, with a light heart, on page 218 the notable farewell letter of Dr Johnson to Dr Dodd.

Our next group of acknowledgments is to the Directors and Secretaries and to certain other officials of the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and H.M. Offices of Stationery and Ordnance. Our friend Mr W. G. Constable of the National Gallery and of St John's College, Cambridge, suggested, after discussion with his colleague Mr Collins Baker, the attribution of this volume's frontispiece to George Lambert. Mr Constable moreover himself cleaned the painting, upon the back of which is pasted, below the inscription "Clare Hall, 1730," the considerate presentation letter, dated Dec. 4, 1908, from Mrs Isabella D. Mounsey-Heygate, of Docklow Court, Leominster. Such paintings of Cambridge (and we believe of Oxford) colleges are surprisingly rare, and we would ask Clare- and Cambridge-men to keep a sharp look-out for others.

Plates I, II, V, XIII Fig. 2, XVII, XVIII Fig. 2, and XX of Chapter IV, and Plate IV Fig. 1 and VIII Fig. 1 of Chapter V are derived from originals in the National Portrait Gallery. The Secretary, Mr F. C. Thompkins, gave much information and every facility for searching the portfolios in which the engravings for Plates II and V of Chapter IV were found, and in having the necessary special photographs taken for Plates XIII and XX in that chapter. Mr Thompkins also put us on the track of the Macclesfield portrait photograph in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Mr H. E. Read of the latter securing for us a good off-print. Mr Eric Maclagan, Director and Secretary of the Victoria and Albert Museum, kindly authorised and expedited the taking of the official negative of the Tillotson medallion (Plate IX). Lastly, we are most grateful to Mr A. J. B. Wace, Keeper of the Department of Textiles at the same Museum, for the trouble he has taken on our behalf to relate the needlework



## ARCHITECTURE

picture on Plate XXI of Chapter III to the eighteenth-century cult of such curiosities, if not to a definite practitioner.

We may here express our thanks and our apologies to the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, and especially to Mr W. C. Scorgie, Deputy Controller, who has borne the brunt of protracted correspondence as to the Map given on Plate XVI of Chapter I. Fig. 2 of Plate XIV in the same chapter has already been acknowledged to H.M.S.O.

Mr O. G. S. Crawford, Archaeology Officer of H.M. Ordnance Survey Office, gave valuable advice when we attempted, in the end unavailingly, to have a number of special aerial photographs taken of the two Clares, in Cambridge and in Suffolk.

Our next debits-grouping is to Architectural periodicals and authorities. The Slade Professor, Professor E. S. Prior, gave ready access for discussion and advice when Chapters I and II were in course of preparation, and for much petty pilfering from his *English Medieval Art*. Much, however, of the letter-press resulting from this stimulus had to be jettisoned through lack of space, Patrinton being, perhaps, the biggest sufferer.

We have already thanked Mr Hope Bagenal of the Architectural Association for putting forward Mr Murray Easton as our author for Chapter III. Mr Bagenal also assisted in the search for good illustrations by introducing us to Mr F. R. Yerbury, Secretary of the Architectural Association and a leading architectural photographer, and to Mr H. M. Fletcher, whose great work on Cambridge, to be illustrated in part by Mr Yerbury, we eagerly await. To these two we owe the best photograph we have ever seen of a rather hackneyed subject (Chapter III, Plate XVIII). To Mr Fletcher we owe in addition the authoritative footnote quotations on pages 88 and 109, and, lastly, the 'discovery,' in the Junior Common Room, of the needlework view above mentioned (Chapter III, Plate XXI). Mr Fletcher had then just bought another needlework version of this view, in somewhat scorched condition, at a small curiosity shop in London, and yet another version was soon disclosed, in Cambridge, in the possession of Lady St John Hope, who had recently lent it with her collection of artistic samplers to the Victoria and Albert Museum. No needlework pictures of other Cambridge colleges are known to Mr Fletcher, to Mr Wace or to Lady Hope, a fact that would seem to credit us with putting up a local leveret, which we have not however time to chase. We are sorry that then untoward circumstances made it impossible for us to avail ourselves more fully of our welcome access to the Fletcher-Yerbury collection of Cambridge photographs.

For the loan of the reproductive blocks for Plate XXIV and for Fig. 2, Plate

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XXIII of Chapter I, and of other blocks reserved for Volume II, we at long last openly thank the Editor of *The Architectural Review*, where these plates made their original appearance in an article on the then just completed Memorial Building (Vol. LVI, Dec. 1924). We should add that the italic acknowledgment is misleadingly placed under Fig. 1 instead of Fig. 2 of Plate XXIII. Fig. 1 is from a print specially procured from Messrs Palmer Clarke, and trimmed with the ulterior intent of setting beside each other for contrast identical doorways, in one case jostled, in the other not, by adjoining windows.

The admirable architectural elevations, etc., shewn on pages 92-6 are acknowledged on page 95 to *The Builder* and to Mr Thomas Tyrwhitt, who drew these striking elevations, and who encouragingly wrote "I should be proud to have them used."

In the complex acknowledgments of Prideaux' view of Tudor Clare (Chap. III, Plate XXXVII) we should have added the names of Mr E. Mellish Clark and of the joint publishers, Messrs Macmillan and Bowes (cf. the small block plan at the head of page 106). Mr Brimley Bowes was kind enough to lend his file copy of the work from which these items were taken, and to waive both copyright fee and the alternative claim to receive free of charge a copy of "what might be a very expensive volume." To Messrs Macmillan we owe the drawing shewn on page 77. To Mr Harry Batsford, Director of B. T. Batsford, Ltd., we are deeply indebted, first for nearly three complete consecutive pages of this volume (pp. 97-9); for the trouble taken also to look out the line blocks (pp. 98-9) for a book that was published so long ago; and for permission to quote extracts (eventually either abolished or much cut down) from *Cambridgeshire* in the County Churches Series. Mr Batsford further allowed us (in Chap. VI, Vol. II) to make liberal use of the text in *The English Staircase* by W. H. Godfrey, and to reproduce from two of that book's line-blocks, which happen to illustrate two features of staircases here at Clare.

To our friend Mr Percy Home, of *The Sphere*, a lover of architecture, and a good friend to Clare, we owe the illustrations on Plate XXV of Chapter I and the Loggan view as reproduced on Plate XXXIV of Chapter III.

The Editor of *The Times* will doubtless pardon us for the *verbatim* quotation, on page 152, from an announcement which most opportunely arrested us to the chance of getting a singularly unhackneyed likeness of Tillotson—to vie with such portraits as those in Chapter I, Plate VIII, of Gilbert de Clare; in Chapter IV, Plate IV, of Edward Leeds; in Chapter IV, Plate XX, of Charles Townshend; in Chapter IV, Plate XIII, of William Whiston; in Chapter V, Plate V, of John Boys; in Chapter V, Plate XII, of Lord Hervey; and in Chapter IV, Plate XXVII, and Chapter V, Plate X, of Cecil Sharp.



## ILLUSTRATIONS: *COUNTRY LIFE*

We come at length to *Country Life*, to whose Editors, Mr Edward Hudson and Mr W. E. Barber, we owe a debt no less great than that due to the Secretary and Delegates for the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

To take first Chapter I. At risk of much inconvenience, in December 1925, Mr Hudson lent us the file prints, not usually permitted to leave the office, and no less than twenty-three in number, prepared for an article shortly (then) to be published on Clare Priory and village. He subsequently submitted a special dummy of the Clare (Suffolk) article, to facilitate our choice of views, thus enabling us early in 1926 to complete the illustrational *format* of Chapter I, in which Plates XIV Fig. 1, XV Fig. 2, XVII, XVIII, and XIX Fig. 1, are due to *Country Life*. Similarly in February 1926 Mr Hudson played up to our then urgency of preparation, by generously lending eight half-tone blocks of Duxford Church, as used (cf. page 59) in *Country Life*: with the six blocks chosen we were able to effect the balanced arrangement of Plates XIV and XV of Chapter II.

The quotation (p. 61) from the accompanying article was also fully permitted.

In Chapter III (original cause of our appeal to *Country Life*) the footing was on a business basis, but Mr Hudson and his photographers were unwearied in their efforts, under none too favourable conditions, to get the best results. Plates IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XV Fig. 1, XXIII, XXIV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXVI, and XXXVIII, represent hardly perhaps the fourth part of the photos taken or of the time and skill devoted to their taking.

In Chapter IV, it is Mr Barber who has enabled us to complete our grouping of plates with Fig. 2 of Plate XXVIII and to swell the relatively sorry tale of illustrations to Chapter V by Plates VI, VII, and XII. Fig. 2, Plate IV of Chapter V is also from one of two articles on the College plate which appeared in the Christmas (1925) and summer (June 1926) numbers of *Country Life* immediately preceding the Sexcentenary celebrations. The half-tone blocks for this and for other illustrations of our plate (Chapter VI, Vol. II) have been lent to us by Mr Hudson for well-nigh, now, two years, without complaint.

More important than these two articles on the plate were two on the College buildings. These were contrived by Mr Hudson to concur, virtually, with the celebrations themselves, and so provided the most effective *apologia* for the then failure to materialise the book. Indeed, that such opportune countervailings were not still further strengthened was no fault of Mr Hudson, for he made every effort to advance the production of the Clare (Suffolk) article so as to bring it into continuous sequence with those on the plate (instalment 2) and on the College, while he tactfully selected to write up Clare Priory and township the same able critic whom he had chosen to describe the College for the July issues—Mr Geoffrey Webb. The rest of our debt to

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*Country Life* must be reserved for Volume II, but to attempt complete discharge of our acknowledgments would be to compromise ourselves, in outside judgments, with pedantry.

Returning, penultimately, to Cambridge, we must not omit to couple with the names of Mr F. L. Attenborough and of Mr G. E. Briggs, University members of the Cambridge Photographic Club, those of Mr Reginald T. Bellamy, the Club's secretary, and Mr Langdon Davies (cf. Chap. II, Plate XXIII), special helpers amongst Town members of the Club.

Aerial photographs displaying relevant portions of Cambridge Town will be found on Plates II, III, VI and VII of Chapter III, while other aerial photographs occur on Plates I, XVI and VIII of Chapter II; all of these are copyright of Aerofilms Limited, with the exception of the last, which was secured through Surrey Flying Services.

Old views, or views of altered or vanished aspects of Cambridge and of Clare, for the most part from ancient photographs dating back as far as the 1860's, will be found in Chapter III on Plates IV, V, VI, XV, XVI, XIX, XXI, XXII, XXV, XXXI, XXXIV (Loggan's Clare), and XXXVII (Tudor Clare), XLI and XLII (the Clare bridge region), and, most notably, on Plate XLIII.

Plates VII and XII give portions, respectively, of Braun's (1575) and Custance's (1798) old maps of Cambridge. In addition to the end papers (described on pages 122-4), other maps and plans occur as follows: of Old Court, pp. 106-7; of Cambridgeshire, Jansson's map (Plate XXI of Chapter II) and page 65, and of Suffolk, page 26—these latter from Drayton's *Polyolbion*; of Maryland and South Pennsylvania, U.S.A., at the time of the American Revolutionary War, Plate XXII of Chapter IV. Clare township in Suffolk is mapped on Plate XVI of Chapter I; a plan, more strictly archaeological, of Litlington is to be found on page 57. We may here, too, collocate Kip's old views (Plates XX and XXIV of Chap. II) of Wimpole and of Hatley St George in Cambridgeshire, and of Brome Hall (Plate XIX of Chapter IV) in Suffolk.

Documents, MSS, title-pages, etc., are represented on Plates V, XVIII and XIX of Chapter II and on Plates X, XIII of Chapter IV and Plate V of Chapter V, as also on pages 17-18, 34-5 (part of the College statutes), 72 and 205-7.

Photos of silver pieces occur on Plates XXI and XXV of Chapter IV, and on Plate IV of Chapter V.

The armorial windows in the College Hall are rendered on Plate XIX of Chapter I and Plates VI, VII, VIII and XXIII of Chapter IV.

The illustrations on Plate XII of Chapter IV and Fig. 1 Plate V of Chapter V are from blocks originally used for Mr Wardale's *Clare College Letters and Documents*.



## ILLUSTRATIONS

A limited number of extra prints have been made, and are available for purchase, of the coloured frontispieces to this volume and to Chapter I. It is hoped also to effect further special printing of the drawing by Mr Sydney Carline given on Plates I and VIII of Chapter III, and of Mr Harold Tomlinson's "Prospect of Clare College, *anno* 1926," here (opposite p. 120) unfortunately folded in, perforce, to the body of the volume. Special reprinting of the four end papers will also we hope be undertaken, while such views as those of Wimpole, Hatley, and Brome, or of Loggan's Clare (Plate XXXIV of Chapter III), to pair with Mr Tomlinson's, could also be separately duplicated were adequate demand forthcoming. Signed artist's *pulls* from Mr John F. Greenwood's woodcuts can be procured from the Librarian of the College—cf. Plates XVII, XXVI, XXXV of Chapter III, and, in Volume II, Plate XIII of Chapter VI, a view of the avenue. The complete set of five cuts was specially made for the Sexcentenary and for this book, and includes a view (over bridge towards avenue) which we have not space to publish. In conclusion, here, may we suggest that excellent wall decoration should result from special printing of the line blocks used for the *Polyolbion* maps on pages 26 and 65, and for Mr Tyrwhitt's Old Court elevations on pages 92–5.

As previously in respect of the text, omissions, defects, and downright faults must be deplored ere we close the long tale of our illustrations. For the sake of economy and of strength in binding the half-tone plates had to be grouped perforce in 'signatures' of eight or four plates; moreover the separate items have been secured or have come to hand, all too intermittently, throughout a period, over all, of nearer three years, now, than two. These two chief orders of constraint have greatly embarrassed the task of arranging the whole mass of half-tone illustration-groupings so as to resolve the problems (occasionally cut-throat) of make-up—the text claiming that appropriate illustrations should be if not *vis-à-vis*, then very near it; the plates insisting that artistic effect, not textual relevance, should determine. On the whole the plates have had to have it their way, and even that way has had its crop of quandaries. Clearly, for instance, the best, or unusual, or unusually appropriate, etc., views and portraits should face in isolation the printed page and, preferably, upright and looking in upon it: or, where illustrations are horizontally disposed, they should occupy a left-hand page or plate. Again, one plate, one illustration was hardly to be gainsaid as an outset slogan; soon however divided, treble, and even fourfold tenancies came to be the frequent, inevitable outcome of over-population, and have either complicated the decisive operation of such factors in pictorial subject as direction of axis, of pose, of gesture, etc., or have put up others arising from, e.g., the mutual disponderance of size, scale, or colour components in neigh-

## INTRODUCTION

bouring illustrations. Naturally such dilemmas exacerbated still further the rivalry between text and plates.

With regard to such thematic, or ironic, displacement-placing as occurs, e.g., on Plates XVIII, XXVII and XXVIII of Chapter IV, or on Plate XXIII of Chapter II (where the photograph of The Rev. A. J. Edmonds has been transposed from Chapter VIII, Volume II, for reasons made patent by the underlines), we do not accuse ourselves—nor again, for transferring the likeness of our finest candlestick from Chapter VI of Volume II to Plate IV of Chapter V, where ‘Sporus’ can now ignore obliquely the fraternal gift.

On the other hand for the transference within this volume of Berridge and Everton from Chapter II to Chapter IV, Plate XXV; for the inadvertent fall, e.g., within Chapter II of Plates XVI and XVII; for the wide separation in Chapter V of Plates II and III as also of Plates IV and XI from their respective texts on pages 209–10 and 219–22, we have only one blunt excuse to make—that a four months’ delay in the delivery from a distance of certain final blocks necessitated, at the eleventh hour, the overhaul of several signatures in no less than each of five chapters in the two volumes; this drastic step being further conditioned by the fact that certain plates, which in the new order should have been promptly shuffled, had to stay as they were because final printing of the chapters explicitly referring to them had just unfortunately taken place.

So much for faults and defects in the arrangement of our illustrations. Pictorial omissions of persons and of plates need occupy us less. But it is not for want of search that the likeness of Dulany (Plate XXIII of Chap. IV) is so little better than an omission, or that we have not ascertained the name of the American correspondent who so kindly at length secured even this for Mr Wardale. Charles Carroll, Masseres, etc., must be added to Denis Browne in the dolorous category of complete omissions.

Turning to plates, our saddest disappointment was, two years ago, the failure to trace the water colour of Clare (from the margin of the river garden) by J. M. W. Turner. This painting had been shewn in the Guildhall Exhibition of Turner’s work some twenty-five years ago, and had been purchased by Messrs Christie for the Hon. Reginald Wyndham in 1911. After Mr Wyndham’s death in the War it had passed to a friend who had taken it to America, where, when our search culminated in October 1925, it had only just been lost. In this breathless business we were so freely helped from the earliest stages to the crisis of pursuit by a number of persons that it would be churlish to omit the grateful mention of their names—in a matter that may not after all, it now appears, be fruitless. To our friends, then,



## UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AND PRESS

Mr Stanley Eade of the Tate Gallery and Mr A. D. Waley of the British Museum we first pay tribute; next to Mr A. J. Finberg, the recognised authority on Turner, and to Messrs Christie and Manson for referring us to the Dowager Lady Leconfield and for enquiry in other directions on our behalf; and finally to Lady Leconfield herself for settling the quest with conclusive information. It is through her kind intermediation that we are now hoping to hear of the picture's recovery and present location—in which case we hope that Mr Clive E. Bemrose (Clare 1920) will shortly find himself giving as much devoted attention to the faithful reproduction of a coloured frontispiece to Volume II as he has expended on that, herewith, of Volume I.

We may pass to some concluding local tributes by noticing one other omission. Despite repeated attempts from numerous positions some of them almost ridiculously ingenious we have failed to get and to give an adequate view of our east gates, with their burly freshness in design. At last an almost ideal camera stance was found, upon the table in the great first floor oriel window of the Librarian's room in the University Library. Here, with Mr A. F. Scholfield's gracious and amused permission, we haled the *Country Life* photographer and hauled his camera, only to find that all but impossibly oblique side-window panes were built into their architrave surrounds and would not open. In this volume, the only other acknowledgments to be made to the Library are for assistance leading to the reproduction of one of its 'Map Room' copies of Jansson's map (Plate XXI of Chapter II), and for much kind aid, and tolerance, experienced, especially in Room Theta and from Mr A. H. Cook and Mr R. Horrox of the Periodical Room. But our chief indebtedness to Mr Cook must await the preface to Volume II, in which Chapter VII, "The College Library," must have fallen between all of many stools without his frequently extended helping hand.

To the Syndics of the University Press acknowledgments open or inferred are rendered on page 91, pages 106–7, and page 121.

As to the directorate, clerical staff, printers, etc., of the University Press itself, it would be vain to attempt to evoke in the cool detachment of perusing minds a sense of our incessant and abiding gratitude. The competence, alert and suggestive sympathy, goodnatured long-suffering, etc., etc. of Mr W. Lewis, the University Printer, and of his successive aides-de-camp, Mr F. R. F. Scott (now tutor of Magdalene College) and Mr D. W. Last, could only be imagined in the living over again by others of *our* experience when, distracted with pre-occupations or inept with perturbation or fatigue, we presented our sorry capacity in a context where nothing but the alertest competence could cope with the relentless pressure of com-

## INTRODUCTION

plex agenda. The secretarial department, under Mr S. C. Roberts, though less pressingly involved, have been no less genial. To Mr R. J. L. Kingsford (Clare 1919) we owe the format of our binding and of our title-page, and other 'preliminaries,' amongst them the list of illustrations. To Mr G. V. Carey (late Fellow of the College) we owe meticulous final readings of our proofs as well as the thorough index which it was decided, belatedly enough, to append to Volume II. To Mr Carey's brother, Mr Clive Carey (Clare 1904), we had meant to owe this volume's conclusion—by reprinting his stirring *Carmen Clarensense* at the close of our review of the musical history of the College. Clive Carey's *Carmen* must now, however, interpose between Chapter x and his brother's index. To Mr Siegfried Sassoon (Clare 1905), whose poem "Conclusion" is to our mind an ideal prelude, we had written to invite a baptismal offering for this book. In suggesting, in his reply, "Conclusion," the writer felt that "the last stanza seems to express something which many undergraduates might 'take as their motto'"—but 'motto' we think is hardly the word for such inspired resolution.

Lastly, there is the College Council, upon which rests ultimately the general responsibility for this work. It would be out of place to name individual members in a corporate undertaking, and our most sorely tried assistant refuses, characteristically, to let his name appear.

If there have been any disputations, they were occasioned, even more than the general unanimities, by one thought and one alone—the honour and benefit of the College which has begun to weather so jubilantly its seventh century of energetic being.

MANSFIELD D. FORBES

*Editor*

*21st December 1927*



## CHAPTER I

THE HOUSE OF CLARE

MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARES

THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE





## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

With some NOTES on the HERALDRY and SEALS connected therewith

To find the root of that venerable tree of which the last and fairest flower was Elizabeth, lady of Clare<sup>1</sup>, our foundress, we have to dig very deep in history till we reach Richard, first of the name, who ruled the Norman duchy from 943 to 996. He begat (with other children) a natural son Godfrey, created by his father count of Brionne, to whom succeeded his son Gilbert, surnamed Crispin, Count of Eu and Brionne, who was one of the guardians of the young Duke William.

Gilbert was murdered in or about the year 1040, leaving two sons, Richard (born before 1035) and Baldwin, who after their father's death took refuge in Flanders. When, in 1053, their kinsman Duke William married the daughter of the count of Flanders, he (at his father-in-law's request) restored to Richard and Baldwin the possessions which, in their absence, he had taken into his own hands. It was as lord of Bienfaite and of Orbec that Richard came over in 1066, in Duke William's army. He fought at Hastings—*Dam Richart ki tient Orbec*, Wace calls him—and for his services was rewarded with nearly two hundred English manors, the most important being in Essex and Suffolk with the castle of Clare as their *caput*. At the same time he exchanged his county of Brionne for the lordship of Tonbridge in Kent, thus adding the surnames of *de Clare* and *de Tonbridge* to those Norman names of *de Bienfaite* and *de Orbec* by which he had been known. Yet another name of his is Richard Fitz Gilbert, for he was the first of the family to adopt that fashion, peculiarly a Clare fashion, of calling sons of the house in successive generations by their father's name.

Richard de Bienfaite, then, is the first lord of Clare, and with him the long and splendid tale of the house of Clare really begins. He served his cousin, King William, faithfully and well, acting as chief justiciar of England during the Conqueror's absence in Normandy, and taking a chief part in the suppression of Earl Waltheof's revolt in 1075. A patron of the Church, like all his house, he founded a Benedictine priory at St Neots in Huntingdonshire, of which his wife was also a benefactor. She was Rohaise, daughter of Walter Giffard the elder; and she bore him five (or six) sons and two daughters.

Meanwhile his brother Baldwin, lord of Meules and Sap in Normandy, had gone into the west country and become hereditary sheriff of Devon, with Okehampton as the capital seat of his barony. He was succeeded by his sons William and Richard

<sup>1</sup> Not "Lady Clare" as she is so often incorrectly called.

## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

Fitz Baldwin, successively sheriffs of Devon and lords of Okehampton, who, like their father and their uncle, were benefactors of the Church. Their responsible position in the west of England shews other members of the house, before the close of the eleventh century, gathering into their capable hands rich possessions, not indeed comparable in value and extent with the broad lands in East Anglia and Kent that Richard of Clare held, but pointing surely to the early importance of the house of Clare.

Richard died in or about 1090, when his son Gilbert succeeded him in the lordships of Clare and Tonbridge, the Norman lands of Bienfaite and Orbec going to his second son Roger.

Gilbert Fitz Richard<sup>1</sup>, born some years before his father came to England, founded the priory of Austin canons, remains of which still exist, at Clare. He was high in favour with King Henry I, who gave to him the lordship of Cardigan with the castle of Chepstow, and to his brother Walter Fitz Richard the lordship of Nether Gwent. In the Welsh wars of that time Gilbert and Walter, with their kinsmen the two Fitz Baldwins (who in William II's reign had established themselves at Rhydy-Gors near Carmarthen), did their share towards the subjugation of South Wales. At the other children of Richard de Bienfaite we can do no more than glance. Roger was a benefactor of the abbey of Bec. Richard, a monk of Bec, became abbot of Ely in 1100. Robert<sup>2</sup>, who married Maud de Senliz<sup>3</sup>, daughter of Simon, Earl of Northampton, is thought to have been the king's steward in succession to the famous Eudo Dapifer, who married Richard's daughter Rohaise. Adeliza, the younger daughter, is believed to have been the wife of that Walter Tirel<sup>4</sup> whose arrow, men said, slew the Red King.

<sup>1</sup> Richard or Gilbert is (with only one exception) the name of every head of the house of Clare until its extinction in the male line in 1314.

Roger de Clare, 2nd earl of Hertford (the one exception), stands exactly midway in the story. Prior to him are five generations, covering 112 years, represented by his great-great-grandfather Gilbert, Count of Brionne, his great-grandfather Richard de Bienfaite, his grandfather Gilbert Fitz Richard, his father Richard Fitz Gilbert, and his brother Gilbert de Clare, 1st earl of Hertford.

After Roger follow his five successors, namely his son Richard de Clare, 3rd earl of Hertford, his grandson Gilbert, 4th earl of Hertford and 1st earl of Gloucester, his great-grandson Richard, 2nd earl of Gloucester and 5th of Hertford, his great-great-grandson Gilbert "the red earl," and his great-great-great-grandson Gilbert, last earl of Gloucester and Hertford, whose death at Bannockburn occurred 162 years after Roger de Clare's accession to the earldom of Hertford.

<sup>2</sup> From him descended the baronial family of Fitz Walter, who differenced the arms of Clare by changing the second cheveron into a fesse, and bore *Gold a fesse between two cheverons gules*. Of this branch was the well-known Robert Fitz Walter of Woodham, a gallant figure in the long struggle for English freedom which ended in the granting of Magna Carta.

<sup>3</sup> She brought the name and some of the property of St Liz or Senliz into the Clare family.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 468-479. I am indebted to the works of this eminent authority, whose knowledge of Norman England is unsurpassed, for most of these details of the early history of the Clares. He is of opinion that the castle-mounds of Tonbridge and Clare may both be the work of Richard Fitz Gilbert.



Old Clare



Seigneur de Clare



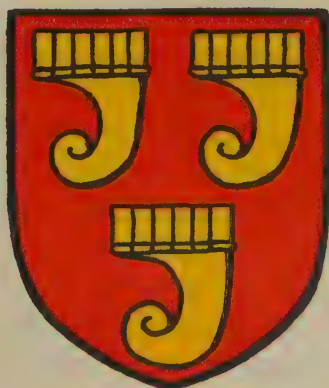
Fitz Walter



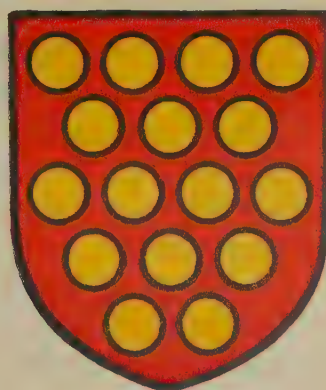
Fitz Hamon



Consul of Gloucester



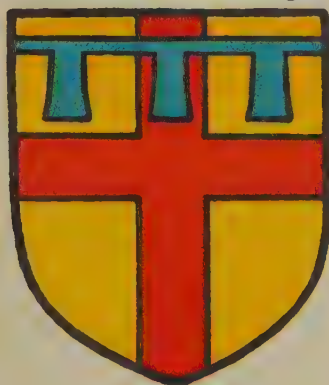
Zouche



Despenser



John de Burgh



Elizabeth of Clare







## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

The date of Gilbert's death seems to be somewhere about the year 1117. He left three sons, Richard, Gilbert and Baldwin, of whom the last named<sup>1</sup> was lord of Bourne in Lincolnshire, where he founded the priories of Deeping and Bourne. Gilbert Fitz Gilbert, the second son, was a personage of high importance in South Wales, for on the death of his uncle Walter Fitz Richard he had succeeded to the wide domains of Nether Gwent and Pembroke. In those troublous days when king and empress were bidding eagerly one against the other for the support of the great nobles, Stephen secured the adhesion of the Clares by making Gilbert Fitz Gilbert earl of Pembroke. Earl Gilbert died in 1148, and was followed in that earldom by his son Richard, commonly known as "Strongbow," a very famous knight, hereditary marshal of England, king of Leinster in right of his wife, justiciar of Ireland and founder of the Kilmainham preceptory of knights templars. He died without male issue in 1176, and Isabel, his daughter and heir, carried the Pembroke inheritance to her husband William Marshal<sup>2</sup>, who in 1199 was confirmed in the earldom of Pembroke.

Meanwhile Richard Fitz Gilbert, the head of the house, had been slain in the Welsh wars; and his son and heir Gilbert of Clare, a young man only just of age when his father died, was created by Stephen (probably in 1141) earl of Hertford. But why, one naturally asks, was he, whose property lay in Suffolk and Essex, Kent and Wales, made earl of Hertford? The answer is<sup>3</sup> that when a newly created earl could not take his title from the county in which his chief possession lay, because such county was already taken, he chose the nearest county remaining vacant. Thus Richard chose Hertford because Suffolk was included in the great Norfolk earldom of the Bigods; Essex had already been given to Mandeville; and Hertford was the nearest unappropriated county to the principal Clare demesne.

Gilbert, first earl of Hertford<sup>4</sup>, who founded the commandery of knights

<sup>1</sup> His daughter and heir Emme was wife of Hugh Wac and carried Bourne and Deeping to him and his successors, a great Lincolnshire house. The knightly family of Wake of Courteenhall in Northamptonshire descends from Sir Hugh Wake, a younger son of Baldwin, fourth Lord Wake, who died in 1315.

<sup>2</sup> From this match descended (as the chart pedigree shews) in the third generation Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, whose wife was the foundress of a house of learning at Cambridge of almost equal antiquity with our own college. The pedigree shews too how Edward II, a near kinsman of the de Clares, and Lady Margaret Beaufort, another connection of the royal house, were also eminent patrons of learning.

<sup>3</sup> J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> His seal (Plate II, seals, fig. 1), which (being the earliest heraldic seal of an Englishman that is known) is of immense importance to the student of armory, shews him mounted on his war-horse in armour of the fashion of his day, wearing a hooded hauberk of mail, a conical helmet with a nose-guard of Norman pattern, and bearing a great kite-shaped shield charged with the cheveronny device which was later simplified into the familiar three cheverons. With this seal must be compared the large vesica (Plate II, seals, fig. 2) of his sister Rohaise, wife of Gilbert de Gant, Earl of Lincoln, who, it is said, was compelled by her uncle Ranulf, Earl of Chester, to marry her after his capture at Lincoln in 1141. After the death of Earl Gilbert in 1156 she married Robert, steward to William de Percy. Her christian name, a favourite in the family of Clare, was derived from Rohaise Giffard, the wife of Richard Fitz Gilbert. Her seal (a pointed oval,  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$  ins.

## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

hospitallers at Standon in his county of Herts, died unmarried four years later, and was buried in the church of the priory hard by his castle at Clare.

To him succeeded his brother and heir Roger, who had taken a large share in the refoundation of the Hospitallers' house at Melchbourne in Bedfordshire. He went to the Welsh wars with Henry II—*claro genere et militari exercitio clarior* said one of his contemporaries of him with that love of puns which was so engaging a characteristic of our forefathers—and was one of the newly constituted order of judges in eyre in 1170. He died in 1173, leaving issue by his wife Maud<sup>1</sup>, daughter of James de St Hilaire du Harcourt, who bore his son and heir Richard de Clare. Maud was a benefactor of Eynsham abbey.

This Richard, third earl of Hertford, was only eleven years of age when he succeeded his father. In 1215 he was one of the twenty-five barons, guardians of the great charter. He married Amice, second daughter and coheir of William Fitz Robert<sup>2</sup>, Earl of Gloucester, and thus brought a fresh strain of the blood of Normandy into the family. For his father-in-law was son and heir of Robert of Caen, called "the Consul of Gloucester,"<sup>3</sup> a natural son of King Henry I by Nesta, princess of South Wales, whom Henry created earl of Gloucester several years after (and apparently in consequence of) his marriage with Mabel, second daughter and coheir of Robert Fitz Hamon<sup>4</sup>, lord of the honour of Gloucester.

That marriage was of vast importance to the house of Clare, for Amice was in her issue sole heir of the Gloucester seigniory. After her father's death the earldom when perfect) attached to a charter (Harl. ch. 553 E (3)) of Henry III's time shews the same device, not on a shield but occupying the whole field. The legend is

[+ SIGI]LLVM · ROHES[IE · COMITI]SSE · LINCOLIE.

Another coat, *Silver a quarter gules*, attributed to Clare, is sometimes met with, and presents a puzzle to the student of armory. It is assigned in Jenyn's Collection (Harl. MS. 6589) to *Le Seigneur de Clare*, and in Glover's Ordinary (Cotton MS. Tiberius D. 10) and in Sandford's *Genealogical History* (1707 ed., p. 222) to *Clare*. In the Second Dunstable Roll, a contemporary collection of blazons of the arms of 136 nobles and knights present at the tournament held at Dunstable in 1334, is the entry *Mons<sup>r</sup> Lyonel port d'argent ove une quarter de goules*, which does not help much towards the solution. Lionel was not a common English name, and *Mons<sup>r</sup> Lyonel* cannot be Lionel, third son of Edward III, created duke of Clarence in 1362, who was not born till 1338, four years after that tournament. Yet it is known that Lionel of Clarence bore the arms of his father differenced with a silver label charged on each pendant with a red quarter, which is obviously derived from the arms assigned to *Le Seigneur de Clare*. George, Duke of Clarence, the third surviving son of Richard, Duke of York, differenced with the same label, and Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III, placed three red quarters on his ermine label. All these princes were connected either by marriage or descent with the blood of Clare, and their use of the red quarters would seem to suggest such connection, though it does not explain the existence of the arms. The solution of the puzzle depends, it would seem, on the identification of *Mons<sup>r</sup> Lyonel*.

<sup>1</sup> She afterwards married William d'Aubigny, Earl of Arundel.

<sup>2</sup> The arms *Gules three clarions gold* are on the surcoat of the figure representing Earl Robert of Gloucester in the glass at Tewkesbury.

<sup>3</sup> Consul = earl. See J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 423.

<sup>4</sup> The arms assigned to Fitz Hamon in later times, and shewn on his surcoat in the Tewkesbury glass, are *Azure a leopard rampant gold*. He was the founder of Tewkesbury Abbey.



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passed first to John, Count of Mortain, the husband of Hawise, her youngest sister, whom John divorced. When John ascended the throne he granted the earldom to Amaury de Montfort, Count of Evreux, husband of Mabel, the eldest coheir, who held it till his death without issue in or about 1214. Next the earldom of Gloucester was given in the last year of John's reign to Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, who had married the king's divorced wife Hawise. Mandeville also died without issue, and at his death in 1216 Amice was left sole heir of the honour of Gloucester. Her husband Richard, the third earl of Hertford, died a year later, and was succeeded by his son Gilbert, a guardian, like his father, of Magna Carta. In 1218 Gilbert's mother Amice died, and he, succeeding *jure matris* to the earldom of Gloucester, bore it along with his ancestral earldom of Hertford.

He took to wife his kinswoman Isabel Marshal, sister and coheir of Anselm, Earl of Pembroke, and daughter of that William Marshal who had married Isabel, the only child of Strongbow, and had been created earl of Pembroke by King John on his coronation day. This complicated tale of the descent of the Gloucester earldom, of marriage and intermarriage, will become clearer if the story is compared with the genealogical table that illustrates these notes.

Gilbert of Clare<sup>1</sup>, fourth earl of Hertford and first of Gloucester, had by his wife Isabel Marshal a son and heir Richard, and dying 25 October 1230 was buried in the abbey church at Tewkesbury, henceforth the mausoleum of his successors (as it had been of some of his predecessors) earls of Gloucester.

Richard, second earl of Gloucester and fifth of Hertford—the more ancient title of Gloucester being given precedence over that of Hertford—was one of the most distinguished men of a notable family. He was born 1 August 1222 and succeeded his father when only eight years of age. He was a lord marcher of Wales in virtue of his hereditary lordship of Glamorgan, a captain in Henry III's army in Guienne while still under age, and was knighted by the king himself in 1245. Immensely wealthy and the most powerful subject of the crown, he became yet richer and more influential when he inherited the Marshal property in co. Kilkenny at his mother's death in 1247. Between 1250 and 1259 we see this great noble going on embassies to pope Innocent IV, to Castile, to Scotland, to the electors of Germany, to France and to Brittany. *Juvenis elegans* and *juvenis calamistratus et delicatus* Matthew Paris calls him admiringly; *vir nobilis et omni laude dignus* is the encomium of the annalist of Tewkesbury. In 1241 he founded a priory of Austin canons at Ton-

<sup>1</sup> The broken fragment of his seal that survives in the British Museum collection shows him wearing a surcoat over his mail hauberk, with a flat-topped helm, and with the three cheverons of Clare upon his shield and the trappers of his war-horse. The counterseal has a shield of his arms with the legend SIGILL' GILEBERTI DE CLARA (Plate II, seals, fig. 3).

## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

bridge<sup>1</sup>. By his second wife Maud de Lacy<sup>2</sup>, daughter of John, Earl of Lincoln, he had, besides other children, Gilbert, his eldest son and successor. He died, 15 July 1262, at Emersfield in Kent at the house of Sir John de Criol. After the funeral mass at the cathedral church in Canterbury<sup>3</sup>, at which Archbishop Boniface was the celebrant, his intestines were buried before the altar of St Edward, his body being afterwards taken to Tewkesbury and interred there; "to whose everlasting praise" says Vincent<sup>4</sup>, "this Epitaph was composed

*Hic pudor Hippoliti, Paridis gena, sensus Vlyssis,  
Æneæ pietas, Hectoris ira iacet."*

His eldest son Gilbert of Clare succeeded, being in his nineteenth year. Dubbed a knight by the great Simon de Montfort in 1264, he was summoned to parliament in his two earldoms<sup>5</sup> in the December of that year, and like his father before him was the acknowledged leader of the baronial party. "Gilbert the red," as he was called, took the cross in 1268 and again in 1290, and went oversea to that disastrous campaign in which the Soldan captured Acre and drove the Christian armies out of the east. Gilbert had another and dearer tie with that town, for in May 1290 he married as his second wife the lady Joan "of Acre," daughter of King Edward I and Eleanor of Castile, so named from the place of her birth. He and his countess were benefactors of the priory of Austin canons at Kirkham in Yorkshire, a fact commemorated by two shields of Clare and England carved, with the arms of other patrons of the house, on the front of the gatehouse which was built between 1289 and 1296. By her he had issue Gilbert, the fourth and last earl of Gloucester of the house of Clare, and three daughters: Eleanor<sup>6</sup>, married firstly to Hugh, Lord

<sup>1</sup> No remains of this house survive. Its site is occupied by the railway station.

<sup>2</sup> She founded the abbey of Austin canonesses at Canonsleigh in Devon, and a priory for the same order at Rothwell in Northants. Her second son was Thomas de Clare, on whom the lordship of Thomond in Connaught was conferred by Edward I in 1276. That territory thereupon received his name, and was henceforth known as the county Clare. Thomas de Clare was made governor of Colchester 1266, and governor of the city of London 1273. He died 29 August 1287, leaving two sons, Gilbert and Richard, of whom the latter was summoned to parliament by Edward II as Lord Clare in 1309.

<sup>3</sup> Two banners of his arms were still among the treasures of the church of the convent sixty years later.

<sup>4</sup> *A Discoverie of Errours* (generally known as Vincent on Brooke), p. 222.

<sup>5</sup> His very remarkable seal is unique of its kind. It is circular, 3 inches in diameter, shewing him on the obverse as earl of Hertford and on the reverse as earl of Gloucester.

The obverse (Plate II, seals, fig. 4) shews him on horseback galloping to the right, armed in hooded hauberk and leggings of chain-mail, over which he wears a long sleeveless surcoat secured about the waist by a narrow belt. Upon his head is the great war-helm, flat-topped and pierced in front with sights and breathing-holes. He brandishes a long fighting sword and carries a heater-shaped shield that reaches from chin to saddle-bow and is charged with the arms of Clare. The legend is SIGILL' GIL[EBE]RTI DE CLARE COMITIS HERTFORDIE.

The reverse (Plate II, seals, fig. 5) is of the same design, except that the rider is moving towards the left. The legend is SIGILL' GILEBERTI DE CLARE COMITIS [GLO]VERNIE.

<sup>6</sup> It was she who glazed the clerestory windows of the quire of Tewkesbury abbey church, putting in the two westernmost windows the martial figures of Fitz Hamon and "Consul," of her father and his two immediate predecessors, of her brother and her two husbands.





1



2



3



4



5

HERALDIC SEALS OF THE DE CLARES



*Phot. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester*

ROBERT FITZ HAMON



*Phot. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester*

ROBERT, 'CONSUL' OF GLOUCESTER





*Phot. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester*

? GILBERT DE CLARE      1st Earl of Gloucester



*Phot. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester*

? RICHARD DE CLARE      3rd Earl of Hertford



6



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10

HERALDIC SEALS OF OUR FOUNDESS, AND OTHERS





II



12



13



14

HERALDIC SEALS OF CLARE HALL AND OF DESPENSER



*Phot. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester*

HUGH, LORD LE DESPENSER



*Phot. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester*

WILLIAM, LORD ZOUCHE, OF MORTIMER





*Phot. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester*

? GILBERT DE CLARE  
'The Red Earl'



*Phot. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester*

? GILBERT DE CLARE  
The last Earl of Gloucester and Hertford



*Phot. A. W. Hughes*

FROM NAVE TO CHANCEL, TEWKESBURY  
Shewing windows given by Eleanor de Clare



*Phot. A. W. Hughes*

AMBULATORY, TEWKESBURY  
Despenser tomb on extreme left



## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

Le Despenser<sup>1</sup> and secondly to William, Lord Zouche of Mortimer<sup>2</sup>; Margaret, wife firstly of Piers de Gavaston<sup>3</sup>, Earl of Cornwall, and secondly of Hugh, Lord Audley<sup>4</sup>; and finally, his youngest child Elizabeth, our foundress. *Acutus ut ensis* men called him; and the chronicler of Lanercross, amplifying that judgment, called him *Vir prudens in consiliis, strenuus in armis et audacissimus in defensione sui iuris*, as indeed Gilbert proved himself to be throughout the barons' wars and in his antagonism to Simon de Montfort. He died at the castle of Monmouth, 7 December 1295, and was buried by his father's side in the abbey church at Tewkesbury. His wife, who survived him, married as her second husband, and without the knowledge of her father, Ralph de Monthermer<sup>5</sup>, who, it is said, was a squire of her late husband. Monthermer in 1296 made his peace with the king and was summoned to parliament as earl of Gloucester and Hertford during his wife's life-time. After her death he was summoned as Lord Monthermer and so sat until he died in 1323. His wife Joan, who had died sixteen years

<sup>1</sup> His arms were *Quarterly silver and gules fretty gold with a baston sable*. He wears them on his coat in the glass at Tewkesbury. He was eldest son of Hugh, Lord Le Despenser (afterwards earl of Winchester), who was hanged by the queen's party at Bristol, 27 October 1326. A violent, turbulent man and a strong partisan of Edward II, he was summoned to parliament by writ from 1313 to 1325. A year later he was taken by the barons and hanged at Hereford, his head being afterwards set up on London Bridge and his quarters being sent to four different towns. Years later his bones were collected and buried in Tewkesbury abbey church.

<sup>2</sup> Zouche's arms, *Gules bezanty*, are blazoned on his coat in the Tewkesbury glass. He was of Ashby in Leicestershire. He abducted his wife from Hanley castle and married her in 1329. He died 28 February 1337, and was buried at Tewkesbury.

<sup>3</sup> Gavaston was a Gascon knight of Bearn, a favourite of Edward II, who made him earl of Cornwall in 1308. He was detested by the English nobles, who demanded his banishment; the king refusing, he was taken by the barons and beheaded on Blacklow Hill near Warwick, 19 June 1312. His arms were *Vert six eagles gold*.

<sup>4</sup> Audley was summoned to parliament as Lord Audley from 1326 to 1336 and in the latter year was created earl of Gloucester. He died without male issue, 10 November 1347, and was buried in Tonbridge priory. His arms were *Gules fretty gold*, which he differenced at the time of his marriage with a *border silver*, his father being then alive. In accordance with a not uncommon heraldic practice of the middle ages he indicated his advancement to the earldom by abandoning the use of his own arms and assuming the armorials of his wife's family as the symbol of his territorial dignity. His finé seal (Plate V, seals, fig. 10) shews a crowned helm crested with his own swan's head and wings of Audley surmounting a shield of Clare, which arms are also assigned to him as *earl of Gloucester* in a roll of arms of Edward III's time. The legend, however,—SIGILLVM HVGONIS DE AVDELE—merely states his name and says nothing of his peerage rank.

With this seal must be compared that used by Thomas, Lord Le Despenser, after his creation as earl of Gloucester in 1397 (Plate VI, seals, fig. 11). This Thomas was son and heir of Edward, Lord Le Despenser, by Elizabeth Burghersh, and great-grandson of Hugh, Lord Le Despenser, and Eleanor de Clare. The armory of his seal is an epitome of his descent and his rank. Within an elaborate gothic quadrilobe is a shield of the arms of his house and a crowned helm crested with the griffon's head and wings of Despenser, set between two trees, from each of which hangs a lozenge of arms, that to the left being charged with the cheverons of Clare, signifying at once his Clare descent and his earldom of Gloucester, while the other bears the fork-tailed lion of Burghersh in memory of his mother. The legend—*sigillum thome dñi le despenser*—only records his barony and makes no reference to his earldom.

<sup>5</sup> Monthermer's arms were *Gold an eagle vert with its beak and legs gules*.

## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

earlier, was buried in the church of the Franciscan priory at Clare<sup>1</sup> which she herself founded<sup>2</sup>.

Gilbert of Clare, only son and heir of "the red earl" by the lady Joan of Acre, was born 1 May 1291 and was knighted by Edward I in 1306. A year later, on the death of his mother, he was summoned as fourth earl of Gloucester and seventh of Hertford, being then in his seventeenth year. He was one of the few nobles of the party of the young king, Edward II, who in 1308 appointed him chief guardian and lieutenant of Scotland, and chief captain in Scotland and the north in that expedition which Edward undertook to gain popular favour and to divert attention from his hated favourite Gavaston. But victory eluded the royal arms; and the young earl, having apparently learned wisdom, joined the barons and in 1310 was sworn one of the lords ordainers entrusted with the affairs of the realm. He was included in the general amnesty that followed the death of Gavaston; and when in 1314 Edward, still set upon the conquest of Scotland, raised a great army for that purpose, the earl of Gloucester and Hertford, an accomplished knight but of no proved worth as a commander of armies, was appointed captain of the vanguard.

Hurrying to relieve Stirling, the English army was met at Bannockburn by Bruce, and there, 24 June 1314, Gilbert, the last of the earls of the house of Clare, came to his end. In the rout of the English army Gilbert disdained to fly. He had gone into battle without a surcoat of the three cheverons, the proudest and most ancient coat in the heraldry of Europe, and he fought desperately like the good knight that he was—"fought, as they said, like any wild boar of the forest, until he died pierced by spears and battered by hoofs."<sup>3</sup> The Scots "would gladly have saved him for ransom had they knowne him" and "King *Robert Brus* caused the bodies of this

<sup>1</sup> Not in the Greyfriars church at Cardiff, as those who found a woman's body there in 1925 tried to make us believe.

<sup>2</sup> One of the verses of the curious Latin poem entitled a "*Dialogue betwix a Secular asking, and a Frere answering at the grave of Dame Johan of Acres*" in Dugdale's *Monasticon* under "*Stoke-Clarensis Prioratus in agro Suffolciensi*" runs thus:

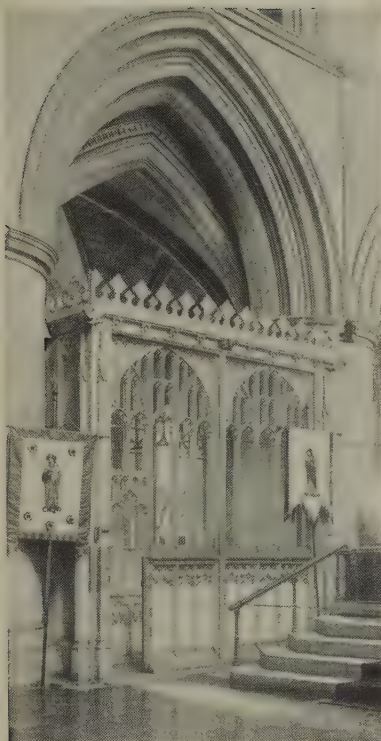
"Cognomen mihi da? *De Acris sic dicta Johanna.*  
Cur sic declara? *quia nam fuit hæc ibi nata.*  
*Hinc in honore tuo, Vincenti, pectore puro*  
*Qua cubat hanc bellam fundaverat ipsa capellam.*"

to which the author appends the following version in English:

"What was hir name? Dame Johan she hight  
Of *Acris*. Why so declarid wolde be?  
For there she sey first this worldes light,  
Borne of hir modir, as cronicles tell me:  
Wherefore in honoure, O *Vincent!* of the,  
To whom she had singular affection,  
This chappel she made of pure devotion."

<sup>3</sup> "The Londoner," *Evening News*, 31 August 1925.



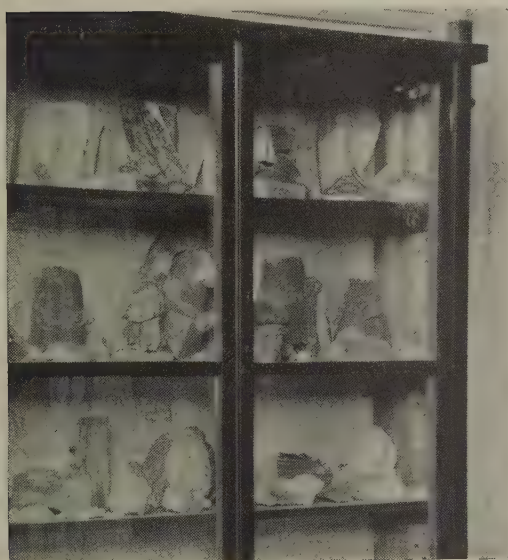


TOMB OF FITZ HAMON



MODERN WINDOW IN NORTH TRANSEPT

Panels from left to right : Saxon Founders, Fitz Hamon,  
the Consul of Gloucester, —



FRAGMENTS OF REREDOS OF THE  
EARLS OF GLOUCESTER



*Photos. W. J. Harrison*

MATRIX OF BRASS ON TOMBSTONE  
OF MAUD DE BURGH

FOUR VIEWS IN TEWKESBURY ABBEY-CHURCH



*Phot. Valentine & Sons, Dundee*

GATEHOUSE OF KIRKHAM PRIORY, YORKS.



*Phot. J. L. Allwork, Tonbridge*

TONBRIDGE CASTLE. GATEHOUSE FROM WITHIN





*Phot. J. L. Allwork, Tonbridge*

TONBRIDGE CASTLE. GATEHOUSE FROM WITHOUT



TONBRIDGE CASTLE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE TOWN & CASTLE OF TONBRIDGE, *circa* 1260



## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

*Gilbert Earle of Gloucester* and *Sir Robert Clifford*, to be sent to King *Edward*, being then at *Barwick*, demanding no reward for the same."<sup>1</sup> Gilbert's body was taken to *Tewkesbury* and laid there in the abbey church among those of his ancestors.

The last earl of Gloucester and Hertford left no issue by his wife *Maud de Burgh*<sup>2</sup>; and his three sisters were his coheirs. *Eleanor*, the eldest, had the honour of Gloucester and a large proportion of the lands in Wales. To *Margaret*, his second sister, was allotted the honour of *Tonbridge*. The third sister *Elizabeth*, whose portion will be of most interest to Clare men, inherited the lordship of Clare and the rents belonging thereto in East Anglia, the Norfolk manors of *Walsingham* and *Brechingham*, in Essex *Bardfield* and *Claret* manors, *Standon* in Hertfordshire, the estates "late of the honour of Gloucester" in *Huntingdonshire*, *West Peckham* in Kent, *Portland*, *Weymouth* and *Wareham* in Dorset, lands, too, in Somerset, and the castles and manors of *Usk*, *Llangibby* and *Caerleon* with nineteen other manors and advowsons in Wales. It is no wonder that we see memorials of mighty Clare all up and down the land, painted windows and carven stone and the tiled floors of innumerable churches adorned with the shield of the three red cheverons.

*Elizabeth*, lady of Clare, was born in or about the year 1292 and was thrice married. Her first husband, to whom she was given in the presence of King *Edward II* at *Waltham* abbey church, 13 September 1308, when only sixteen years of age, was *John de Burgh*<sup>3</sup>, son and heir apparent of *Richard*, Earl of Ulster. He died in his father's life-time, 18 June 1313, at *Galway*, leaving by *Elizabeth* his wife a son and heir *William*, who succeeded to the earldom of Ulster at Earl *Richard's* death.

Against the king's wish and without his licence *Elizabeth* was married secondly, 4 February 1316, "*extra dictum castellum* (i.e. *Bristol*) *ad unam leucam*" to *Theobald*, Lord *Verdun*<sup>4</sup> (the younger) of *Alton* in *Staffordshire*, being his second wife. He died 27 July following and was buried at *Croxden* abbey, leaving by her a posthumous daughter *Isabel*, who in 1331 became the wife of *Henry*, second Lord *Ferrers of Groby*.

*Sir Roger Damory*<sup>5</sup> of *Bletchingdon* in *Oxfordshire*, younger son of *Sir Robert*

<sup>1</sup> Vincent on Brooke, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Daughter of *Richard*, second earl of Ulster. She had an only child, *John de Clare*, who was born and died in 1312. She died in 1320 and was buried at *Tewkesbury*.

<sup>3</sup> *John de Burgh* bore Gold a cross gules with the difference of a label azure, his father being still alive.

<sup>4</sup> The arms of *Verdun* were Gold fretty gules. The obverse of his seal (Plate V, seals, fig. 8) shews him mounted on his war-horse, galloping to the right, clad in mail and war-helm, with his arms upon his shield and horse-trappers. The legend is SIG[IL]LVM THEOBALDI [DE VERDVN]. The reverse (Plate V, seals, fig. 9) has a shield of his arms supported by two lions and hanging from a tree, with two little birds perched on the top of the shield. The legend is [CONSTAB]VLARII HYBERNIE, in allusion to his office (in which he succeeded his father) of constable of Ireland.

<sup>5</sup> *Damory's* arms were Barry wavy silver and gules a bend azure.

## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

Damory of Bucknell in the same county, was Elizabeth's third husband. He was a friend of Edward II, and was one of the English knights who did good service at Bannockburn. Early in 1317 he married the widowed lady of Clare, being already by the king's favour a man of property, lord of the manors of Holten in Oxfordshire, of Sandal in Yorkshire and of Vauxhall in Surrey. Office came to him quickly—keepership of the castle and honour of Knaresborough, of Corfe castle and the forest<sup>1</sup> of Purbeck, of St. Briavel's castle and the forest of Dean. In the year of his marriage he was created Lord Damory. Four years later he fell from favour after a violent quarrel with his brother-in-law Hugh Le Despenser, and joined the barons against Edward. He died, wounded and a prisoner, at Tutbury castle, 13 March 1322, and was buried in the priory church of St Mary at Ware in Hertfordshire. By Elizabeth his wife he had an only child Elizabeth, who at the tender age of nine became the wife of Sir John (afterwards third Lord) Bardolf.

Immediately after Damory's death Elizabeth of Clare<sup>2</sup> (or de Burgh, as she generally styled herself) was imprisoned in Barking abbey, and there, under duress and fear of death for herself and her son, resigned her Welsh lands to Hugh Le Despenser and her sister Eleanor. At Christmastide that year, still pursued by the unrelenting malice and jealousy of her brother-in-law, she was forced to give a bond not to marry again nor to dispose of any of her property without licence of the king, a bond which was annulled by parliament five years later, in the first year of

<sup>1</sup> Forest = hunting ground. Purbeck was a favourite resort of Saxon, Norman, Angevin and Plantagenet kings. At Corfe castle St Edward, king and martyr, was murdered; John made it a royal residence; and there Edward II was imprisoned before they took him to Berkeley.

<sup>2</sup> Two seals of Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of Clare, are known, and it is not easy to say which is the more perfect example of the unsurpassed art of the seal-cutters of her day.

The earlier of the two (Plate V, seals, fig. 6) is circular,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, and of most elaborate and symmetrical design. The principal element is a large shield of the arms of Damory, set in a square architectural panel between three leopards from the arms of her grandfather Edward I. The square is placed within a quatrefoil set crosswise with lancet-shaped leaves, each of which contains a roundel, those at the top and bottom being charged with the arms of John de Burgh and Theobald de Verdun respectively, those at the sides with the cheverons of Clare. This quatrefoil stands upon another set saltirewise, with rounded lobes enclosing trefoils charged alternately with a castle and a lion from the arms of her grandmother Eleanor of Castile.

The date of it, judging from the prominence given to Lord Damory's arms, is possibly before 1317, the year of his death, though the minuteness of the engraving suggests a rather later date. Elizabeth was certainly sealing with it as late as 1353.

In the next year we find her using a new seal (Plate V, seals, fig. 7) of even more complicated plan. The central element is a square set lozengewise enclosing (between three leopards of England, as in the first seal) a large shield of the familiar arms, de Clare impaling de Burgh within a border sprinkled with drops (possibly silver drops rather than the golden gouttes that appear in the arms of the College, if, as seems certain, Lady Elizabeth assumed the border as an emblem of her perpetual mourning for the husband of her early youth). Surrounding the lozenge-shaped middle are the leaves of a quatrefoil set saltirewise containing alternately the castles of Castile and the lions of Leon; and between these leaves are four roundels charged as before with arms—at top and bottom Clare, that to the right Damory, that to the left Verdun. This seal, like the first, has no legend.



## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

Edward III, as against right and against all reason. Thereafter that sorely tried lady lived quietly and at peace at Clare, at Usk and at others of her many houses<sup>1</sup>.

In 1336 she endowed University Hall, Cambridge, the patronage being surrendered to her by Richard of Badew, *fundator, patronus et advocatus* thereof, and established a new foundation with the name of Clare Hall<sup>2</sup> which it retained until the time of men still living. The statutes that she gave to it are dated 1359. Like many others of her illustrious family she was a benefactor of the Church. In 1347 she founded a house of Franciscan friars at Walsingham in Norfolk which survived

<sup>1</sup> But she had to do her part when war came. When in 1346 Edward III led his army to France in that campaign which ended gloriously with the victory of Crecy and the capture of Calais, Elizabeth de Burgh was called upon to send ten men-at-arms clad in armour from head to foot and mounted on powerful horses, twenty-five archers wearing steel cap and padded coat and armed with bows and short swords, with one hundred and fifty foot soldiers from her Welsh estates, one half armed with spears and the rest with bows and arrows, and all carrying long knives.

Her brother-in-law, the earl of Gloucester, was ordered to array twice as many men-at-arms and archers, with two hundred Welsh infantry from his lordship of Nether Gwent.

After her death the lordship of Clare was inherited by her granddaughter Elizabeth, *suo jure* Countess of Ulster, whose husband Lionel, third son of Edward III, was created duke of Clarence in 1362. Philippa, only daughter and heir of Lionel of Clarence, was the next lady of Clare, and the lordship descended from her through the Mortimers, earls of March, to the house of York, coming in 1460 to Edward, Duke of York, at whose accession to the throne as Edward IV the lordship of the honour of Clare became merged in the crown.

The castle of Clare was granted by Edward VI to Sir John Cheke his tutor; but it was resumed by Queen Mary, who annexed the honour to the duchy of Lancaster. The castle was, however, alienated, and before 1655 was in the possession of the family of Barnardiston. In the time of Charles II it passed to Sir Gervase Elwes, and it remained in the hands of his descendants till 1825, when John Barker of Clare priory bought it.

<sup>2</sup> The original seal (Plate VI, seals, fig. 12) of Clare Hall, the silver matrix of which is still in perfect condition, belongs to the year 1359, when Elizabeth of Clare gave statutes to her new foundation. It is of the usual vesica shape,  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$  ins., shewing the foundress standing in a triple-canopied niche, holding in her left hand a book of the statutes and giving with her right hand the charter of foundation to the master and scholars, nine of the company being represented by kneeling figures and the remainder by a number of largish dots which fill the background. In the three niches of the canopy are demi-figures of Our Lady with the Child, between St John Baptist holding *agnus dei* on the left and St John the Divine with his emblems of the eagle and a palm branch on the right. On the left of the tabernacle work of the central niche hangs a shield of Edward I's arms; on the right are the quartered arms of Castile and Leon. These two shields are those of Elizabeth's grand-parents. Below the niche, filling the triangular space at the bottom of the vesica, is the shield which, as we have seen, was adopted as her own by the lady of Clare in 1353. The legend in fine gothic letters reads AULĀ CLARE PIĀ REGE SEMPER VIRGO MARIA.

The eighteenth century silver seal (Plate VI, seals, fig. 13) is a badly proportioned, feebly cut, meanly conceived copy of the beautiful fourteenth century original, so poor a thing that it is difficult to understand why a work so typical of the debased style of its period has not long ago been disused.

The eighteenth century seal (Plate VI, seals, fig. 14) of the Master of the College shews simply a shield of the arms of Lady Elizabeth, used since the foundation as the heraldic emblem of this ancient house.

In very recent times a custom has grown up of placing an earl's coronet above the arms of the College, or of using a modern earl's coronet as the badge of Clare. This deplorable practice is entirely indefensible, and for many reasons it should cease. Artistically it is a mistake, because the glaring mass of gold and silver conflicts with the fine simplicity of the ancient shield. Archaeologically it is an even worse blunder, because the earl's coronet that is used was not invented till Charles II's time. Historically it is completely wrong and misleading, because it implies either that Elizabeth of Clare was a countess, which she never was, or that the college which she founded in the fourteenth century owes its being to an English earl who lived more than three centuries after her time.

## THE HOUSE OF CLARE

till the Dissolution in 1544, when it was granted to John Eyre of Narburgh. Remains of it still exist at the south end of the town.

She died 4 November 1360, leaving directions in her will, dated at Clare, 25 September 1355, for her burial at the convent of the Minoresses without Aldgate. Her tomb was still there in 1530, but what became of it when the storm of the Dissolution broke on the house eight years later is not known.

This short sketch of the ancestry and life of the foundress of our college will give, it is hoped, to Clare men some glimpse of the greatness of the rock from which they are hewn, some idea of the influence that moulded the character of the gracious lady to whom they look with reverence and affection, some hint of her generosity, her nobility and her fortitude, qualities that will be for ever an inspiration for the sons of Elizabeth of Clare.

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LOBBY AT SOUTH END OF MANSION-HOUSE,  
CLARE PRIORY

Meeting of passages to (1) probable site of the priory kitchen (left foreground), (2) buttery, screens, cellarer's hall, etc. (right foreground), (3) stair to frater or general refectory (right, opposite door in background)



SHIELD OF ROGER DE CLARE  
IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

From Westminster Abbey [vol. 1 of H.M.  
Commission's Inventory of the Historical  
Monuments in London]  
*By permission of H.M.S.O.*



CLARE PRIORY AND CASTLE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY  
Looking N.E. from point near figure 72 on map opposite



TOMB-SITE OF JOAN OF ACRE, CLARE PRIORY  
Castle mound and fragment of keep beyond





CASTLE, PRIORY, AND TOWNSHIP OF CLARE, SUFFOLK

Part of ordnance map as coloured by Sir William St John Hope

*Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*



*Clare Castle from the Banks of the Stour, Suffolk.*

Published for the Proprietors, by W. St John Hope, 11, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.

VIEW FROM RIVERBANK, BETWEEN CASTLE  
AND PRIORY



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CLARE PRIORY, FROM GARDEN TO EAST  
Shewing infirmary building with range of library windows in its northern flank



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SIGN OF THE SWAN INN AT CLARE IN SUFFOLK



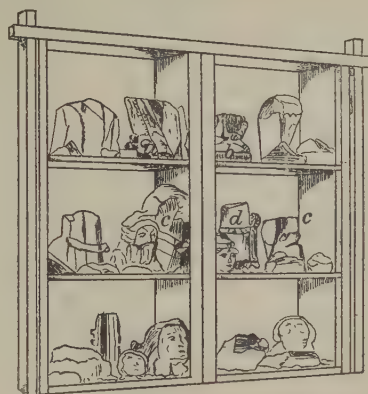
## MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARES

With an ACCOUNT of some of their MILITARY and RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

There was scarcely a noble family in feudal England with which the de Clares were not associated by marriage. They descended from kings and kings descended from them. They were related to the princely families of Scotland, Wales, Ireland and the continent. If account be taken of these marriage connections, there is scarcely a village in this country with which they had no association. But their burial places, even where they are known, are not generally distinguished by monuments, save by the unique painted glass of the quire windows of Tewkesbury abbey church. They had, however, at one time another memorial in that abbey of which there remain but a few fragments of miniature painted effigies. These apparently formed part of a reredos<sup>1</sup> commemorating the earls of Gloucester, beginning with Earl Robert and his son Earl William and continuing to the last Gilbert and later. Surely this would be another unique memorial if it were still in existence.

The quire at Tewkesbury is crowded with the chantry chapels and tombs of the successors of the de Clares and their relations, but the direct line of the de Clares died out just at the time when these memorials came prominently into fashion "so that churches became practically mausoleums....The secular nature of this memorial art, despite its religious profession, can be gathered from the heraldic ornaments—shields and badges of knight-hood, that qualify it in the first years of the fourteenth century."<sup>2</sup> This was a period of quire rebuilding in which Tewkesbury shared. It need hardly be said that the chapel in which the tomb of Fitz Hamon is placed dates from this period and that it was not the original place of burial.

At this time monasticism was dominated by the sense of knightly dignity and pride, and even the outer walls of monasteries were crenelated and the gatehouses ornamented with the arms of the nobility, as at Kirkham



Fragments of painted sculpture, found in the soil under the altar place, which appear to have belonged to the ancient reredos. (a) Part of the base of an armed figure on which is the inscription in block letters, "Roberto Consull fil reg." (b) A similar base inscribed "Willelmus Comes Glovern." (c) The middle parts of figures whose surcoats bear the arms of the de Clares. (d) A portion of the figure of Gilbert de Clare, last of the name, with an inverted torch in his hand signifying the extinction of the male line.

<sup>1</sup> Plate X, fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> E. S. Prior, *English Medieval Art*, p. 91.

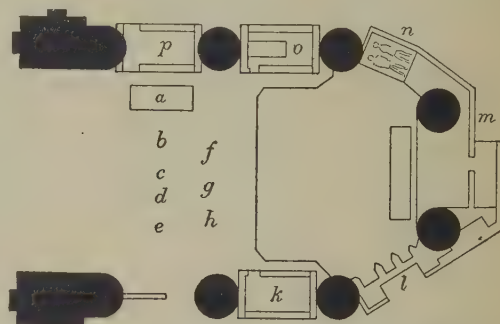
## MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARES

priory in the valley of the Derwent river, some fifteen miles north-east of York. "The church-building crafts were busy too," writes Professor E. S. Prior, "on halls and guest-houses for the lodging and entertainment of knights and ladies. Households moved from manor to manor over the country, and it was as customary to be put up in a monastic house as to-day it is in an hotel. . . . Especially the King and his Court travelled continually about England, and had quarters and entertainment commandeered for the royal company. So the head of a religious house had to play the part of host to a distinguished circle of guests, and his *métier* was that of a courtier"; we may therefore take it that a visit from Gilbert de Clare and Joan of Acre would cause hardly less stir at the monastery visited than a visit from the sovereign himself. They and their personal suite etc. would occupy the state apartments or others near them, while their knightly following, or part of it, would doubtless be housed in such a room, half guest-chamber, half ward-room, as that which extends above the broadly welcoming gateway in our illustration of the late 13th century gatehouse at Kirkham, on which the arms of Clare have a prominent place<sup>1</sup>.

A plan of the quire of Tewkesbury abbey church is reproduced, shewing the various burial places and memorials, and from the appended list it will be seen that there is ample justification for the remark of Dr M. R. James that "Tewkesbury hardly yields to any church save Westminster in the number of great personages who rest beneath its roof."

There is one other burial place, fit almost to rank with Tewkesbury for the number of its interred magnificos, which may be fittingly mentioned at this point—Clare priory, not thirty miles from Cambridge. Here were interred Richard de Clare, the founder, Joan of Acre and Edward de Monthermer, her younger son by her second husband; Lionel, first duke of Clarence and earl of Ulster, and his son Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March; also Edmund Mortimer, fifth earl of March and "last of the Mortimers." Lionel of Clarence, third son of Edward III, who had died in Italy in 1368 and been buried first at Pavia, was finally interred before the high altar in Clare priory. In the infirmary hall of the priory are now preserved many fragments in the decorated style,

QUIRE OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY CHURCH  
SHEWING BURIAL PLACES



(a) Brass of Maud de Burgh, d. 1320, wife of Gilbert de Clare; (b) Gilbert de Clare, d. 1314; (c) Gilbert de Clare, d. 1295; (d) Gilbert de Clare, d. 1230; (e) Richard de Clare, d. 1262; (f) Richard le Despenser, d. 1414; (g) Thomas le Despenser, d. 1400; (h) Isabel le Despenser, d. 1439; (k) Edward le Despenser, d. 1375; (l) Hugh le Despenser, d. 1326, husband of Eleanor de Clare; (m) George, Duke of Clarence, d. 1477; and Isabel Neville, Duchess of Clarence, d. 1476; (n) Hugh le Despenser, d. 1349, and his wife Elizabeth Montagu; (o) Robert Fitz Hamon, d. 1107, Founder; (p) Richard Beauchamp, d. 1421, husband of Isabel le Despenser.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 8 of this chapter.



# MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARES

obviously deriving from some such ornate affair as the Percy tomb at Beverley. These were found, it appears, built up in the thickness of the wall above the tombstone slab of Joan of Acre<sup>1</sup>, when the aperture shewn in the photograph was opened out in recent times. We could cite no better examples than the quire of

736	Ancient Funerall Monuments	within the Diocesse of Norwich.	737
	<p><i>Bellarum titulis, gl'risq; argue triumphis:</i>  <i>Cuique natura donavit vnumera plura;</i>  <i>Et fortuna suis hunc pinxit dotibus amplis;</i>  <i>Gratia succurrat quoque longo tempore vivas</i>  <i>Felix vita, virtutibus et redimta:</i></p> <p>Q. Coniugii aut solus extat Dux hic honorandus  R. Absit in his tantis princeps fide coniugii solus  Effici, nam nephas foret. Q. Ergo michi rogo dicas  Quam duxisti R. Dominam te scire volo gratiosam,  Nomen des huius: R. extat Cecilia. Q. Cuius  Filiis declaratis fuerat? R. reor ultima proles  Westmorland comitis, sexus saltem muliebri.  Quo non vbi flante, diuino manere dante,  Canellu prelati sit honore sororibus ipsi.</p> <p>Q. Num sunt huius soboles aliquæ? R. sunt. Q. dic michi quales?  R. Bis sine proles. Q. harum in nomine dones,  Quomodo setate quo sint et in ordine nate</p> <p>R. Post annos steriles multos, si primula proles  Anna dicora satis, sed post hanc stirps probratis  Nascitur et caritas, cito quem curis suis amicus  Crassus in arce pota fecit regnare perbeni.  Prodit Edwardus post hunc beres que futurat.  Edmundus sequitur, binc Elisabeth generatur.  Post Margaretæ, Willelmus postera meta  Fit pro presenti, donec sua manera veniat  Det Deus hinc matris solite signum pietatis.  Margret post proles hinc Willelmus que Iohannes  Quos r. pins serulo statuit Deus almus Olympo.  Inde Georgius est natus, et bonus que Ricardus.  Thomas in fide successit sorte beata.  Philip iam matris proles fuit Tristula, regis  Que summi voto celsi iungitur agno.</p> <p>Q. Optime naturam pinxisti, pande futuram  Si sis fortunam. R. Dux Excester tenet Annam  Forem, que comes March est Edward patru beres,  Roslunde Edmundus comes exstitit vocatus.  Tres reliquis proles solita pietate parasset  Tempore condigno titulabatur nomine digno.  Istam progeniem soboles et utrumque parentem  Omnipotens firmat, est incolmes rogo serues  Temporibus longis, et secum vivere celis  Præstet post sua ducens ad galmata prætā.  Consecrat hoc flammæ pater et proles preor. Amen.</p>	<p>Question. What man lyeth here sey me sir Frere?  Answer. Do man. Q. What ellis? A. It is a woman.  Q. Whose daughter she was I wold lese here.  A. I wold you tell sir licheas I can.  King Edward the first afur the conquest began,  As I haue leeryd was his fadir  And of Spayn bozne was his modir.</p> <p>Q. What was her name? A. Dame Johan the hight  Of Fregis. Q. Why so declarid wold be?  A. for there she lay furth this twozids light,  Bozne of her modir, as cronicles telle me:  wherfore in honoure, O Vincent of the  To whom she had singular affection,  This Chapel he made in pure devotion.</p> <p>Q. Was she ought weddid to ony wight?  A. Yes Sir. Q. to whom? A. yf I had not lye  To Gilbert of Clare, the Sele by right  Of Gloucestre. Q. Whos Son was he? A. forthly  An othir Gilbert. Q. This Genealogye  I desyre to knowe, wherfore telle me  Who was his fadir? if it pleseth?</p> <p>A. This Gilbertis fadir was that noble knight  Sir Richard of Clare: to sey all and sum  which for freis loue that Gile's hight,  And his boke clepid, De Regimine principum;  Made furth frere Augustines to Ingclonde cum,  Cherin to dwellle, and for that dede,  In heuen God graunte hym soye to mede.</p> <p>Q. But laterally who was telle me.  This Ricardis wiff whom thou preist so?</p> <p>A. The Countes of Hereford and Spauld hight he,  whiche whan he th the knoite had undoo  Of temporal Couaile, bitwixt hem twoo,  With diuers parcels encreid our fundation,  Liche as our Monumentys make declaratioun.</p> <p>Q. Of the first Gilbert who was the wyff?  A. Dame Spauld, a Lady ful honourable  Bozne of the Wiffers as the worthy ff  Hir aarmes of glas in the Sk gable,  And for to God thei wold: ben acceptable,  Het a lypd and she with an holly entent,  Made by our Chyrche fro the fundament.</p>	<p>The first countess of Hereford and Spauld Augustines in to England.</p>
	<p>The translation of these latine Numbers, into English Stanzas, as followeth, seemeth to haue bene composed at one and the same time, as appears by the Character.</p> <p>Question.</p>	<p>R r r 3</p> <p>Now</p>	

Tewkesbury and the presbytery of Clare for the truth of Prior's epitome that, in the fourteenth century, "aristocratic personality took the place of religious sanctity beside the altar, and thereafter" (he is speaking of the resulting changes in sculptured representation and costume) "monuments, brasses, and memorial stones were no more than the fashion gazettes of the heavenly mansions." Though this is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. note (2), p. 10, and our line illustrations, reproduced from Weever (cf. pp. 734-42), who printed it in 1631 from a roll then in the possession of his friend Windsor Herald. This poem gives a rhymed descent of the lords of Clare.

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substantially true, an artist-critic will only apply this last remark, in particular instances, with discretion.

Clare priory was one of the later religious foundations of the de Clares and some account of it will be given shortly. One of the earliest of such foundations was no

736	<i>Ancient Funerall Monuments</i>	<i>within the Diocesse of Norwich.</i>	737
	<p>Now to Dame Johan turne we ageyn Latter Gilbertis wyff, as to forae thyd is which lyeth here. Q. was she baryn?</p> <p>A. Hap sir. Q. Sey me what fruite was this?</p> <p>A. A byatone of right grete loye I was Man or woman? A. A Lady bight;</p> <p>Q. What was hir name? A. Elisabeth the bight.</p> <p>Q. Who was her husband? A. Sir John of Burgh, Wife of the Wylfiris, so conioyned be Wylfiris armes and Gloucesters thurgh and thurgh, As the with our wyndowes in howls thre, Doyntour, chapter hous, and fraitour, which the Made oute the ground, both plauncher and wal.</p> <p>Q. And who the role? A. He alone did al.</p> <p>Q. Had she ony issue? A. Yea sir slyerly.</p> <p>Q. What? A. A daughter. Q. what name had she?</p> <p>A. The hie modie Elisabeth for hely.</p> <p>Q. Who euir the husbonde of hir might be?</p> <p>A. King Edwards Son the thied was he, Sir Lionel, which buried is hir by, As for such a wynter too symply.</p> <p>Q. Left he onye frute this Prince mighty?</p> <p>A. Yea, a daughter and Philip the bight, whom Sir Edmond Mortimer wedded truly, First Erie of the Marche, a manly knight. Whos Son sir Roger by title of right, Lette helye another Edmonde ageyn: Edmonde sette noone but deid baryn.</p> <p>Wight thus did cefe of the Marchis blode The helye male, Q. Whider passed the right Of the Marchis Londis? and in whome it stode I wold sayne lerne, if that I might.</p> <p>A. Sir Roger myddil Erie that noble knight, Whyn daughteris sette of his blode was, That ones illure deide, that othis hath al.</p> <p>Q. What bight that Lady whose issue had grafe This Lordship to atteyne. A. Dame Anne I wys, To the Erie of Cambrigg and the toff was, Which both be dede, God graunte hem blys. But hir Son Richard which yet liueth, ys Duke of Yorke by descent of his ladyr, And hath Marchis londis by right of his modir.</p> <p>Q. Is he sole or married this Prynce mighty?</p>	<p>A. Sole, God forbide it were grete pite.</p> <p>Q. Who hath he wedded? A. A gracious Lady.</p> <p>Q. What is hir name I the prey telle me?</p> <p>A. Dame Cecile Sir. Q. Whos daughter was she?</p> <p>A. Of the Erie of Westmrelonde I trothe the yengest, And yet grafe her fortunad to be the byest.</p> <p>Q. Is ther ony frute betwix hem two?</p> <p>A. Yea sir, thouns be God ful glorious.</p> <p>Q. Male or female? A. Sir bothe too.</p> <p>Q. The nombir of this progeny gracious, And the names to know I am desyrous, The ordre cke of byrth telle yf thou kan, And I wil euir be euen thyn owen man?</p> <p>A. Sir after the tyme of long bareynes God first sent Anne which signyfyeth grafe, In token that al her hertis praynes, He, as for bareynes wold from hem chafe. Harry, Edward and Edmond ech in his place Succedid, and after theryn daughteris cam Elisabeth and Margarete, and afterwarde william.</p> <p>John after William nexte bozne was, Whiche be passed to goddis grafe, George was nexte, and after Thomas Bozne was; which lone after did pale By the path of deith, to the heuynly place Richard liueth yet, but the laite of all Was Ursula to hym whom God like calle.</p> <p>To the Duke of Exetere Anne married is In hir tendre yowthe: but my Lord Percy; God chosen hath to enherite heuen blys; And sette Edward to succede temporally Now Erie of Marche, &amp; Edmond of Rutland for theyr Comute, with fortunabil to right bygh marriage: The othis fourc stand yet in their pupillage.</p> <p>Longe more he liuen to goddis pleasaunce, This bygh and myghty Prynce in prosperite With vertue and byetoze god him auaiunce Of al his enemyes, and graunte that he, And the noble Prynces his wyff may see His childres children of thei hengs wornde And after this outelary the ioye that neuer shal ende. Amen.</p>	

doubt that in Clare castle<sup>1</sup>, which had already been established there by Earl Aluric (or Withgar), the Essex thegn in possession at the Conquest. Aluric's foundation was dedicated to St John and settled within the bailey on the south side of the castle mound; but in 1090 Richard Fitz Gilbert de Clare supplanted this by a new religious foundation of Benedictine monks, his own countrymen, attaching the body as a "cell" to the abbey of Bec in Normandy. The monks of Bec remained in Clare castle until 1124, when they were removed to the neighbouring village of Stoke-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 22.



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by-Clare by Richard de Clare, who also founded Tonbridge priory, all remains of which were destroyed when the railway was constructed. The alien priory of Stoke was naturalized in 1395, and in 1415 Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, caused it to be changed into a college of secular canons. Among the rectories belonging to this college were those of Great Dunmow and Thaxted, both of which have other points of interest for Clare. Its statutes, dating from 1422-3, are both numerous and interesting, but as the essential history of the college began more than half a century after the death of our foundress, we must content ourselves by referring the reader to the *Victoria County History of Suffolk*, and with mentioning that the last dean of the college was none other than Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, to whom not only Corpus Christi College but the nation is indebted for the salvage of many manuscripts and other monastic treasures at the Reformation. His pulpit can still be seen in the church of Stoke-by-Clare and there are a few remains of the priory incorporated in the later house. The church can easily be inspected by those visiting Clare, as it is on the high road from Cambridge to that township.

At this point it is topographically, although not chronologically, in order to give a brief account of Clare priory. A later Richard de Clare was the first to introduce into this country the Friars Heremites of St Austin, and it is generally assumed that their first English house was established at Clare in 1248. Their next house was founded at Woodhouse, Salop, in 1250, and the third at Oxford in 1252. "The high position of the founder and his posterity coupled with the fact that Clare was the parent house of the order in England, placed this friary in an exceptional position, particularly as Clare was a favourite residence for royalty in the 13th and 14th centuries."<sup>1</sup> Joan of Acre added the chapel of St Vincent to the priory church, and Elizabeth de Clare, our foundress, built a new refectory, dormitory and chapter house. We have already made reference to the notable persons buried here. The illustrations shew the extent and state of the remains, and to these we may now give some detailed attention.

It will be seen from the part of Sir William St John Hope's coloured ordnance map here reproduced, by kind permission of Lady Hope and of His Majesty's Stationery Office, that Clare priory lies to the south-west of the castle mound (at a distance of some two hundred yards—our map has suffered a reduction in excess of one-half from the original scale of 25 inches to the mile, or 208 feet to the inch). The black irregular block to the west is that of the mansion house<sup>2</sup>, the dark block to the south-east that of the infirmary hall<sup>3</sup>, with, originally, the library over it. From the

<sup>1</sup> *Victoria County History of Suffolk*.

<sup>2</sup> Seen to left in Plate XV, fig. 1, and to right in Plate XVII, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Seen to right in Plate XV, fig. 1, and to left in Plate XVII, fig. 1.

## MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARÈS

north-east corner of the infirmary block a faintly tinted oblong runs at right angles, in a direction west of north, through the capital P of 'Priory.' Here extended for a distance of some hundred feet over part of the chapter house (which ran east and west below the letter P) and other ground-floor accommodation the Friars' dormitory or dorter, abutting to the north on the vestry and chapel of St Vincent, erected by Joan of Acre, whose tomb<sup>1</sup> is in the wall separating the chapel from the presbytery of the priory church. Of this last the site is shewn, since only foundations remain, in faint wash, running east (presbytery) and west (nave) to abut upon the north-east corner of the present mansion house. To the south of the nave, the three groups of numerals coincide with the site of the cloisters, to the south of which, again, a thinly outlined oblong shews the (first floor) site of the refectory, some 80 feet in length. From the north-east corner of the little square courtyard, marked white on the plan, there opens the lobby, with three passages giving off it at right angles to each other, shewn in Plate XIV, fig. 1. This part of the building probably owes its erection, about 1314-15, to our foundress, since very shortly after her brother's death at Bannockburn she appears to have built, in addition to the chapter house—dorter range, that of the refectory. The massive groins of the low ceiling here resemble, now, a kind of ferro-concrete starfish, but the effect is not oppressively uncouth, for all is kept freshly whitewashed, and the window is placed so as to realize a rare opportunity for light to range along, and deepen caressingly upon, naïvely rounded forms which a more delicate groining might less successfully complement. We might remark, in passing, that the revealing photograph of our own screens' area owes all its charm to studied, and even to long-awaited, lighting.

Clare priory appears to have been destroyed in 1539, the year following its suppression, and since the two Clares are less than an hour's motor-drive apart, this particular act of vandalism will be felt by Clare men—by such, at any rate, as have visited Clare township—as one of life's minor calamities. Perhaps in the groined lobby-chamber just appraised we have not only the closest extant memorial of our foundress but even the prototype of our own original screens of six centuries ago.

There is yet another religious foundation of the de Clares at Clare—the church, the building of which is credited to the same Earl Richard who created the priory in 1248 for the Austin Friars. The tower is of similar period, that is, Early English, but the bulk of the church is of the building period that followed the Black Death, i.e. perpendicular. The decorated north and south porches are, however, contemporary with our foundress. Within, the church is admirably spacious and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plate XV, fig. 2. The standpoint here is on the site of the floor of the chapel of St Vincent, the walled-up door to the left having led from the chapel to the presbytery (chancel) of the priory church, which was directly beyond the tomb-slab at the bottom of the opening.



## MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARES

proportioned, and there is much attractive detail, such as the Jacobean gallery-pew and communion rails, the eagle lectern (reputed to be the gift of Queen Elizabeth), and the great eyes of the east window, the sun and moon in ancient glass, rare survivors of Reformation and of Puritan iconoclasm. It is possible that the church and priory were connected underground. Both were being built at the same period, and it is not unlikely that the interesting groined vault with octagonal central pillar beneath a house on the Market Hill once acted as a point of connection between the destinations, since there are blocked-up passage ways leading in either direction. The ancient church plate at Clare is of considerable fame and merit; everything conspires, indeed, to cause regret that a recent attempt to secure the advowson of Clare for the College, by exchange with the Duchy of Lancaster, has come to nothing.

Various other religious foundations of the de Clares will be found noted in the genealogical table, but particular mention may be made of the original foundation of Tintern abbey by Walter de Clare. In the vestry there are several ancient effigies, one of which is reputed to be that of Gilbert "Strongbow," or alternatively that of Roger Bigod, the builder of the present remains, and another supposed to be that of Maud Marshal, who was buried in the abbey.

Little Dunmow priory was founded by Walter Fitz Robert, whose effigy is still preserved in the priory church. Another noted benefactor of the church was Eudo Dapifer, who married Rohaise de Clare. The priory of St John at Colchester was founded by Eudo; the site is now used as a barracks, the fine archway of the priory serving as one of the entrances. Rohaise gave her name to Royston, which place was for some time known as Roises Cross. The name has sometimes been attributed to Rohaise de Vere, who was the daughter of Alice de Clare and wife to Geoffrey Mandeville, Earl of Essex, grandson of the former Rohaise.

Lack of space forbids any but casual further mention of the religious benefactions of the de Clares, and we must now pass, and again with special attention to Clare in Suffolk, to some account of their castles. A number of these are reproduced from two volumes of Buck's *Engravings* (1730-4) in the College library, and a set of brief notes on these illustrations is appended to this article. No illustration is given, however, of Caerphilly castle, begun by Gilbert de Clare about 1267. This was the earliest and at the same time the most elaborate of the Edwardian type of castle, with its



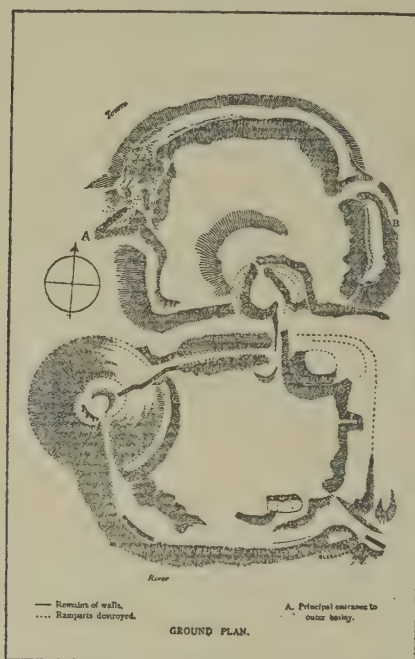
CLARE CASTLE, from an old engraving

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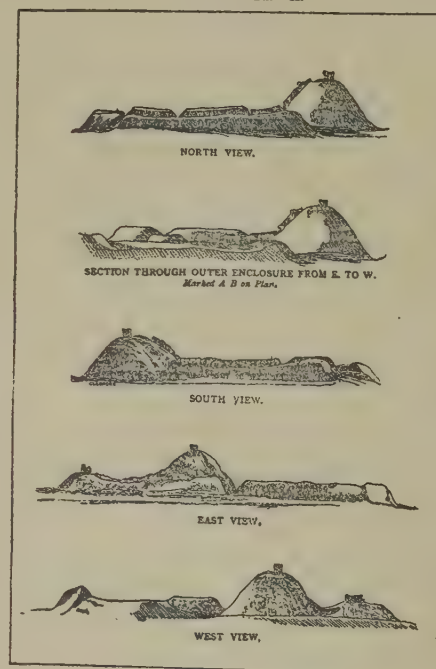
concentric system of defences exhibiting "the highest pitch of military science attained in mediaeval England."

The castles of Clare and Tonbridge were, however, those with which the de Clares were first and most continuously associated. The most prominent feature of both castles is the mound or *motte* characteristic of the early Norman castles built in this country. Both have two baileys side by side, a somewhat unusual feature.

CLARE CASTLE.—I.



CLARE CASTLE.—II.



It is the opinion of J. H. Round that both were originally made by Richard Fitz Gilbert. The mound of Clare castle is fifty-three feet high and contains 58,000 cubic yards of earth; that of Tonbridge is upwards of sixty feet in height.

It may now be taken as established that, without exception, castle mounds such as these were of Norman origin. There were no private castles in Saxon times, the Saxon *burh* being a township or borough fortified by an enclosing hedge, palisade, or earthwork. The village of Clare before the conquest was such a fortified *burh*, and we have seen that Earl Aluric placed seven secular canons in his collegiate church of St John in the *castle* of Clare. The mound would be surmounted by a wooden palisade, within which there may have been a wooden tower, and the bailey at the foot of the mound would also be defended by a ditch with a palisade round its inner circumference and a hedge of brambles or stakes round its outer. Later on, the palisade on the mound was replaced in some cases by a stone wall forming a shell keep, the wooden tower being left, at any rate, in certain instances.



## MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARES

The mounds of Clare and Tonbridge were both eventually crowned with shell keeps; that of Clare castle was of internal diameter 52 feet, the thickness of the walls being 6 feet and of the foundations  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet, additional strength being afforded by fourteen external buttresses of triangular section. There were normally two wing walls down the sides of the mound so as to connect up with the defences of the bailey. Tonbridge castle appears to have had only one such wing wall, the river Medway being an adequate defence on the other side.

The northern of the two baileys of Clare castle is the older. The vallum of the southern court, which is from 20 to 22 feet in height, was surmounted by a strong wall, which descended from the keep and surrounded the whole bailey. In this court, no doubt, the domestic buildings were placed. It is now intersected by the railway, in digging the road for which (cf. Ordnance plan) an interesting discovery was made, in 1865, of something that may be an even closer extant memorial of our foundress than the erections at the priory. This was a gold crucifix attached to a gold chain, which was recognized to have formed part of the crown jewels in the time of Edward III and was claimed as treasure-trove on behalf of the crown in 1866 "by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury in right of her Duchy of Lancaster, to which the Lordship or Manor of Clare in the County of Suffolk was annexed under authority of an Act of Parliament passed in the 2nd and 3rd of Philip and Mary." The crucifix was studded with pearls and contained a fragment of wood said to have been a portion of the True Cross. It is now in Windsor castle. The summit of the earthwork in which the find was made is still known, it is intriguing to note, as "the Lady's" (not Ladies') "walk." (Plate XVI, fig. 2, to right.)

The plan of Tonbridge castle is somewhat similar to that of Clare. To the south-east of the mount is the principal bailey, defended by a high stone wall with an inner bank of earth, by the river Medway, and by a moat. The moat of this court was carried round to the north-west, forming a second bailey. The castle gate gave entrance to this bailey, from which entrance to the main court was given by the magnificent gatehouse. The ancient earthworks surrounding the *burh* can still be traced.

The arms of Clare are found most frequently in the west of England and throughout the duchy of Lancaster, in the former case most often in ancient monasteries—as, for instance, on many of the tiles found recently in the ruins of Glastonbury and other churches. An instance of their occurrence on tiles is afforded by our view of the chancel floor at Tewkesbury, where such tiles, doubtless in this case restored, abound near the tomb-slab of Maud de Burgh. But in eastern England no place can vie with Clare for the display of the familiar chevrons and connected armorial bearings. They are encountered, indeed, *passim*, the occurrence ranging from the

## MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARES

expected, e.g. on the east gate of the castle, to the unexpected, e.g. on old pieces of furniture. They have, in fact, at Clare been in such common use for so many centuries that they came insensibly to be adopted as the arms of the township.

The two most prominent of these armorial displays at Clare we here illustrate, one of them directly, the other derivatively, *de Clare*. The two most striking of the township's many pleasing houses are Nethergate House and the Priest's House, the former once the residence of Sir William St John Hope, lying to the right (south) of the broad street by which Clare is entered from the west, the latter adjoining the churchyard—the former claiming attention by reason of its fine, and finely carved, half-timber work and its massive clustered chimney-stack of superb design, the latter as a wonderful example of the 'pargetted' plaster-work so characteristic of the south-eastern counties, and here boldly modelled in the Elizabethan idiom, though the house was probably of fifteenth century origin, as the date, affixed long after the pargetting, suggests. Of this remarkable house the Clare arms are a prominent feature, in the gable facing the High street (above the second H of 'High' on plan).

Of more intrinsic note, however, is the sign of the Swan Inn, some 100 yards south of the Priest's House, originally a window corbel, possibly of one of the domestic buildings of the castle. It measures nine feet eight inches by two feet four inches and is remarkable for combining the insignia of the houses of York and Lancaster. The central feature is a swan of about natural size. A swan was the badge of the de Bohuns. Mary de Bohun was the first wife of Henry IV and mother of Henry V. It will be seen from the illustration that the swan is collared with a crown and chained; as such it was a cognizance of Henry IV and Henry V, and possibly also of Henry VI. The crescent ensigned with a star between its horns was also a royal device. A crescent, star and rose were on some plate of Henry IV, and it is recorded that servants of his household at Windsor wore the badge of a crescent on their sleeves. The arms on one side are those of France and England quarterly with a label of three points, and appear to be those of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V. The arms on the other side are Mortimer quartering de Burgh. These arms were borne by the descendants of Philippa (great-granddaughter of Elizabeth de Clare) and Edmund Mortimer, until Edward, Duke of York, became Edward IV, when the arms as well as the honours of these families became merged in the crown. It would appear that the carving was executed between 1399 and 1413. For a closely reasoned discussion of this sign, reference should be made to the *Proceedings of the Bury and West Suffolk Archaeological Institute* (vol. I, pp. 67–73), from which also the plan and sections given two pages back were taken. This sign is perhaps the oldest inn sign in the kingdom.



## MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARÈS

Once more town than village, now village rather than town, Clare seems, these days, to repose, as though removed beyond the reach of perturbation by some culminating seventh wave of history, in the serenity matured from the satisfying consciousness of a long past that was always sufficiently busy and generally sufficiently 'glorious.' It is pre-eminently one of those places for which one accepts the romantic assurance that, though horrors may have disturbed its calm, ugliness could never have shamed its delicate decorum.

The peculiar charm may be traced, perhaps, to the idea of an organism that, having come together naturally, has later decked itself with a seemly flourish devised in the ascendancy of natural prosperities that do not demean.

Clare township forms a worthy background for a foundation so old as that of the College, and for a building of such charm as our old court. The meaning of the place-name is irrecoverably buried, for though the Romans knew the place as "Clara," the name is almost certainly a Latin rendering from another, perhaps a Gaelic, word. The outlines of a Roman camp are plainly to be seen upon the common, though whether this was "built just outside the town to overawe the inhabitants," subjects at one time of Queen Boadicea, we must leave to speculation or the spade. At the headwaters of a river valley that approaches Colchester in its descent, in the days when the uplands were huge forest areas, some *point d'appui* there must have been inevitable. There are traces in towns close by of Roman pavements; there are Roman burial grounds near Haverhill, and another was found in 1864 no more than a mile from Clare; while a small bronze figure of a dancing boy or Mercury was also found at Clare itself. Three Roman roads passed at or near there, the Icknield way, the London-Carlisle road through Colchester and Lincoln, and the Roman road that skirts the golf course on the 'Gogs,' the Via Devana *en route* to Chester on the Dee.

Clare's second outstanding epoch, the Anglo-Saxon, could only enhance the importance of the place, since it figured during the earlier part of that epoch as a frontier post on the marches of two realms, in the days when England was a heptarchy of seven kingdoms. It was this importance that made the gift of 'the honour' by the Conqueror to his relative a worthy reward for sterling services, and that made the recipient, no doubt, proud to style himself 'de Clare.' So for three or four centuries, constituting its third historical epoch, the town was famous as the seat of a semi-royal house, with a 'home' as wide in repute for stateliness, relatively speaking, as Chatsworth or Blenheim to-day. In Domesday survey Clare figures as a "borough," with forty-three burgesses, 2400 acres of arable land, a market, a church, and a vineyard of five acres, this last the creation of the new owner, who seems to have shared the distaste, whether natural or assumed, of Normans



ESSEX AND PART OF SUFFOLK, FROM THE MAP IN DRAYTON'S POLYOLBION



## MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARES

for the traditional Saxon concoction from honey-drippings known as mead or metheglin,—still procurable, we understand, in the depths of Suffolk and of Essex. If the legend is ever to be substantiated that claret wine took its name from the prestige of the de Clares, it will be, we imagine, by following up the hypothesis that the vineyards at Clare were more important or more potent than others, as the family who owned them were more important than other families. Vineyards were, in paulo-post-Conquest days, the special prerogative of leading families.

The map from Drayton's *Polyolbion* here reproduced shews Clare with a prominence which she can no longer claim, but which may well stand for each of her special prominences in the periods we have differentiated, as also in her final important period.

This may be distinguished as the 'woollen' period, though at its farther end it overlapped the era of our foundress and even of her parents. There was prosperous weaving along the Suffolk borders at least a half-century before the Flemings, about 1336, imparted new stimulus to the industry, at the very time when the lady Elizabeth began to re-stimulate the flagging foundation of University Hall.

Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of Clare, left directions in her will that she was to be buried in the abbey of the Minoresses of St Clare in London, which was situated in the locality now known as the Minories near the Tower of London. Research has shown that she was undoubtedly buried there. She also left a legacy of one hundred and forty pounds to this nunnery "to pray for the souls of John de Burgh, Theobald de Verdon and Roger Damory her husbands." In addition she bequeathed them "twenty pounds in money, a relique of christal, a great chalice of silver gilt, two cruets, one vestment of white cloth of gold, with what belonged thereto, three clasps with a thousand pearls and a robe of russet with its appurtenances." It is, therefore, of some interest to inquire what connections there were between the house of Clare and this religious order.

There were only four establishments of this order in England, of which the chief was founded in London in 1293 by Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, uncle of Joan of Acre, the mother of Elizabeth, lady of Clare. Two were at Waterbeach and Denney in Cambridgeshire and one at Bruisyard in Suffolk.

The priory for Franciscan nuns at Waterbeach was founded by Denise de Munchensi in 1294. It was further endowed with Denney manor by Mary de St Pol, Countess of Pembroke, and later removed by her to Denney priory, which was in her possession, having been a house of the Templars and earlier still a Benedictine foundation. The existing remains include a portion of the Norman church built by the Benedictines and a large barn which may have been the refectory.

Denise de Munchensi was the grandmother of Aymer de Valence, Earl of

## MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARES

Pembroke, husband of Mary de St Pol and great-grandson of Isabel de Clare. Mary de St Pol was the foundress of Pembroke College and a great friend of Lady Elizabeth de Clare. Elizabeth obtained a licence to appropriate to the nuns of Denney the church of Great Gransden, which she later gave to Clare Hall, but the licence never took effect.

The establishment at Bruisyard was connected with the neighbouring priory of Campsey Ash, which was founded about 1196 by Theobald de Valoines for Austin nuns. In 1346 the church of Burgh, Suffolk, was appropriated to the priory at the request of Maud, Countess of Ulster, who herself entered the nunnery in 1347, taking the habit of a regular. In the same year she obtained a licence to endow a perpetual chantry of five chaplains to celebrate daily for the saving of the souls of William de Burgh (son of Elizabeth de Clare), Earl of Ulster, her first husband, and of Ralph de Ufford, her second husband, who was buried in the priory church, also of Elizabeth de Burgh and Maud de Ufford, her daughters. Seven years later the nunnery was moved to the Manor Place of Rokehall at Bruisyard. At the instance of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the establishment was surrendered for the use of an abbess and sisters of the order of St Clare in 1366, six years after the death of Lady Elizabeth de Clare, the grandmother of his wife. There are to be found some remains of both establishments.





*Copyright "Country Life"*

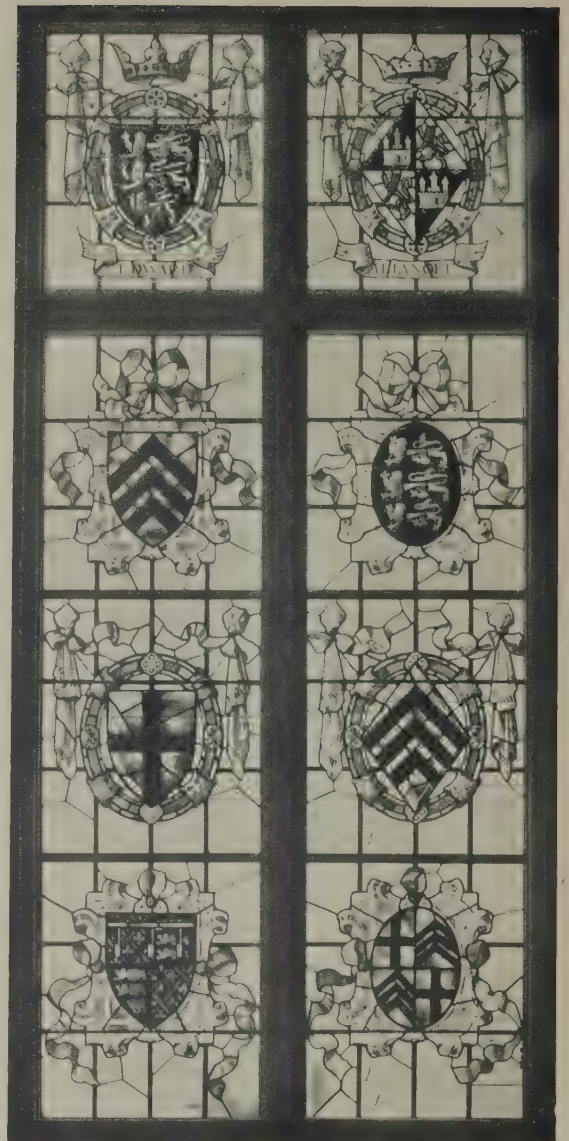
'PRIEST'S HOUSE' AT CLARE IN SUFFOLK



*Copyright "Country Life"*

The sequence of windows in the upper story,  
to right, once lit the monastic library

THE INFIRMARY HALL, CLARE PRIORY



*Phot. Palmer Clarke*

ROYAL ARMS AND ARMS OF DE CLARE  
AND DE BURGH IN WINDOW TO GALLERY  
CLARE COLLEGE HALL





DOORWAY ON RAMPARTS



GREAT HALL



*Phot. W. J. Harrison*

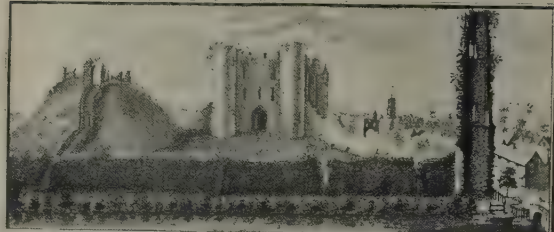
POSTERN ENTRANCE AND FRONTAGE TO RIVER WYE

THREE VIEWS AT CHEPSTOW CASTLE

THE SOUTH VIEW OF ORHAMPTON-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF DEVON



THE SOUTH VIEW OF TUNBRIDGE-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF KENT



THE EAST VIEW OF RICKLAND PRIORY, IN THE COUNTY OF DEVON



By Henry Buck

THE NORTH-EAST VIEW OF CRONTON-ABB, IN THE COUNTY OF STAFFORD



THE SOUTHWEST VIEW OF STOKES CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF SALOP



By Henry Buck

THE SOUTH WEST VIEW OF CANTON-SCHOOL, IN CAMBRIDGE



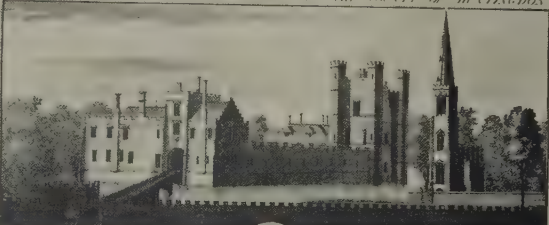
By Henry Buck

THE NORTH EAST VIEW OF CRISTON CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK



By Henry Buck

THE WEST VIEW OF DE KOLA PALACE, IN THE COUNTY OF HANTS



By Henry Buck

FOUNDATIONS OF THE DE CLARES &c. FROM BUCK'S VIEWS



THE NORTH-EAST VIEW OF HAVERFORD-VEST-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF PEMBROK.



*Edw. Williams Esq.*  
This Prospect is handsomely improved by  
the most Oblig'd Servants.

THE NORTH-WEST VIEW OF PEMBROKE CASTLE.



*Edw. Williams Esq.*  
This Prospect is handsomely improved by  
the most Oblig'd Servants.

THE SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF ALGERIN-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF PEMBROK.



*Edw. Williams Esq.*  
This Prospect is handsomely improved by  
the most Oblig'd Servants.

THE EAST VIEW OF TENDO-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF PEMBROK.



*Edw. Williams Esq.*  
This Prospect is handsomely improved by  
the most Oblig'd Servants.

THE SOUTH VIEW OF CAERMARTHEN-CASTLE & TOWN.



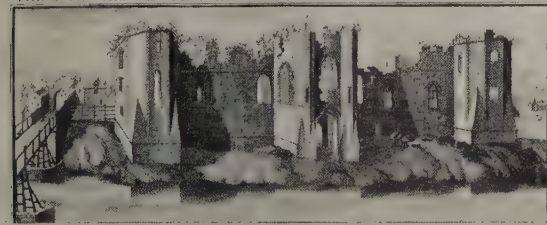
*Edw. Williams Esq.*  
This Prospect is handsomely improved by  
the most Oblig'd Servants.

THE SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF KYDWELLY-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF CAERMARTHEN.



*Edw. Williams Esq.*  
This Prospect is handsomely improved by  
the most Oblig'd Servants.

THE EAST VIEW OF NEWPORT CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF MONMOUTH.

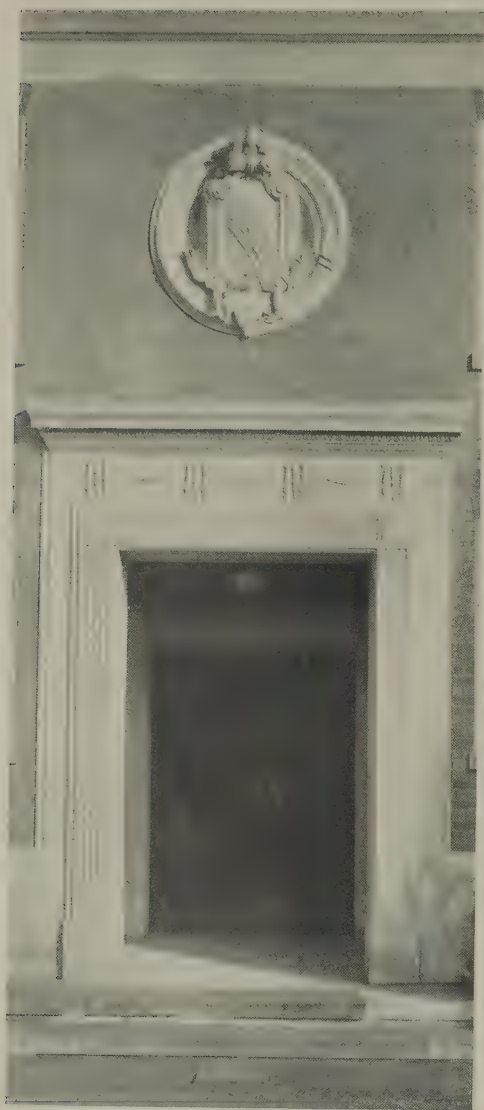


THIS CASTLE stands near the Mouth of the River Usk, by these few Remains it appears  
to have been very strong and built for the Defence of this river. It was built by  
the present Proprietor is John Burgh Esq.

THE WEST VIEW OF USA CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF MONMOUTH.



THESE are the few Remains of a Once Magnificent Castle, which appears to have  
been built for the Support of the Town of Usk, in which it is pleasantly situated. It  
was built by the present Proprietor is John Burgh Esq.



*By courtesy of "The Architectural Review"*



*Photos. Palmer Clarke*

ARMS OF DE BADEU (LEFT) AND OF BARHAM

OUR EARLIEST AND LATEST BENEFACTORS

Above north and south corner-staircase entrances,  
Memorial Buildings

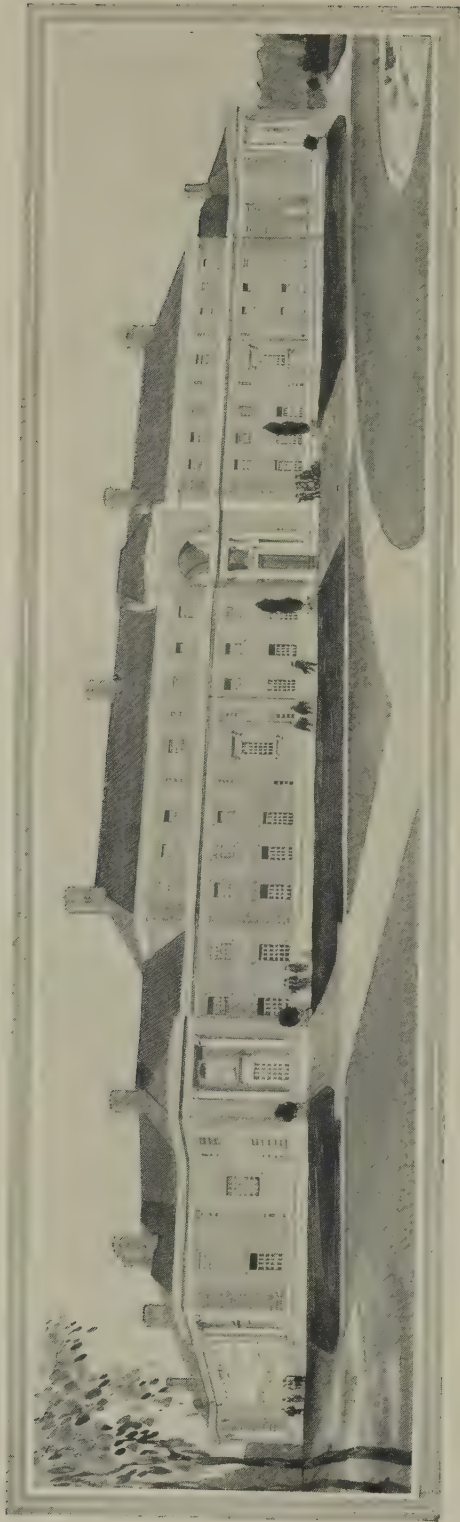




By courtesy of "The Architectural Review."

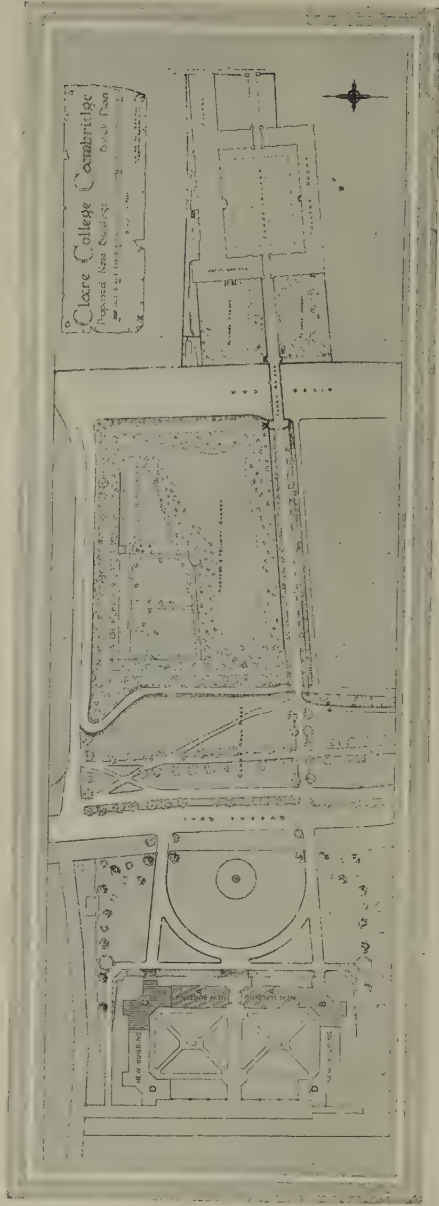
Phot. Palmer Clarke

THE BARHAM BLOCK, MEMORIAL BUILDINGS, FROM THE SOUTH



WAR MEMORIAL BUILDINGS

Shewing Barham block (left, B on plan below, with wing not yet built beyond) and de Badew block (right, C on plan)  
*Sir Giles Scott's original perspective drawing as issued in "The Sphere," Feb. 10, 1923*



OLD AND NEW CLARE

Plan shewing axial connection



## NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

### BUCK'S VIEWS (*circa 1730*)

*Okehampton Castle* was first erected by Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, brother of Richard Fitz Gilbert. The existing remains are of a later date. He was also responsible for the building of the existing gatehouse of Exeter castle, one of the earliest built in this country.

*Tonbridge Castle* was first erected by Richard Fitz Gilbert, lord of Clare and Tonbridge. It has one of the most considerable and finest examples of shell keeps. On the execution in 1521 of the duke of Buckingham, who then owned the castle, the gatehouse was described by the royal escheators as "as strong a fortress as few be in England."

*Buckland Priory* was founded by Amice, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and wife of Baldwin de Rivers, Earl of Devon.

*Croxton Abbey* was founded by Bertram de Verdun. According to the inscription beneath the engraving, Theobald the second husband of Elizabeth, lady of Clare, was buried here.

*Stokesay Castle*, a moated and fortified manor, was in the possession of the Verdun family. The manor passed to Elizabeth, the daughter of Theobald by his first wife, the lady of Clare being his second wife. Amongst their other possessions the Verduns also held Alton castle, Staffs.

*Pythagoras School*, an ancient building adjoining St John's College, Cambridge, was purchased in 1270 by Walter de Merton and given by him to his foundation of Merton College, Oxford. Notice the Clare cheverons beneath the engraving; cheverons also appear in the arms of Merton College. Richard de Clare was feudal lord of Walter, and in 1262 granted him a licence for the presentation of the manor of Malden with its member of Chessington to the "House of Scholars" which he was founding at Malden. In 1264 Walter assigned the endowments of this house to the support of 20 scholars at Oxford. Richard de Clare took the earlier foundation under his protection, and Gilbert de Clare did the same for the later. The arms of the earl of Gloucester appear in the east window of the chapel of Merton College in recognition of his having been one of the three most signal patrons.

*Chepstow Castle* founded by William Fitz Osborne, Earl of Hereford, was subsequently conferred on Richard de Clare, the father of "Strongbow." Later it passed to William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.

The parish church at Chepstow was originally the nave of the church of the Benedictine priory, probably founded by Richard. It is of interest to note that this priory was granted by Edward IV to God's House, which foundation was particularly associated with Clare Hall until its incorporation with Christ's College.

*Buckden Palace*. The manor of Buckden was a possession of the abbots of Ely and it was given by Richard de Clare, last abbot, together with other manors, to the bishop of Lincoln as compensation when the abbacy of Ely was changed into a bishopric.

Two brothers of Richard were in the neighbourhood of the New Forest when William Rufus was killed by Walter Tirel, their brother-in-law. Among the first acts of Henry I were the appointments of Richard as abbot of Ely, and Walter Giffard, a relative of the de Clares, as bishop of Winchester. (J. H. Round, *Feudal England*.)

It was to Buckden Palace that Nicholas Ferrar used to come from Little Gidding, to visit Bishop Williams of Lincoln. William was a loyal friend of the Ferrars and of their community, though, as Skipton puts it, "he could easily have won a cheap popularity at the hands of the Puritans by throwing the Ferrars to the wolves." When, in the year of Ferrar's death (1637), Williams was imprisoned in the Tower, Ferrar visited him there also, and the two conversed about the unquiet outlook. Ferrar then "propheciéd" his own approaching death and Williams' promotion to high office. Soon after his brother's death, John Ferrar, too, saw the bishop in the Tower and told him of the good end that Nicholas had made, whereupon the bishop recorded his last impression of Nicholas, that he was, as one may put it, 'fey': "I thought, when he was gone, the more upon them [the prophecies] as from a dying man's words, and of another world, for so he seemed to me."

Eventually Williams rose to the archbishopric of York.

## MEMORIALS OF THE DE CLARES

*Haverfordwest Castle* has been attributed to Gilbert "Strongbow," Earl of Pembroke, and it is highly probable that he or his father Richard de Clare erected a strong mound castle on this site. The present structure, however, dates in the main from the latter years of the 13th century, when its builder would have been William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. There is a tradition that Elizabeth, lady of Clare, died here, and that she was noted in the neighbourhood for her charitable disposition.

The Augustinian priory at Haverfordwest was founded about 1200 by Robert de Haverford, a knight in the train of William Marshal.

*Pembroke Castle* is one of the most interesting military monuments in the country. Giraldus states that Arnulf de Montgomery first built a castle here of sods and wattles. The cylindrical donjon was probably built by William Marshal and is one of the finest remaining examples.

*Cilgerran (Kilgarran) Castle* was undoubtedly first built by Earl Roger de Montgomery (an ancestor of the lady of Clare). The names of Gilbert "Strongbow" and William Marshal both occur in connection with its building or rebuilding, but the existing remains are of the latter half of the 13th century, and of Edwardian type.

*Tenby Castle* was originally of the early mound type. The burning of the wooden defences several times in the 12th and 13th centuries is recorded. The small round keep is a copy of that of Pembroke and was probably built by William Marshal. The castle generally dates from the latter half of the 13th century and was possibly built by William de Valence.

*Carmarthen Castle*. William Fitz Baldwin, nephew of Richard de Tonbridge, obtained the lordship of Rhyd-y-Gors and built a castle there. This castle was undoubtedly built on the same site as that of Carmarthen castle and not at a place in the neighbourhood which retains the name Rhyd-y-Gors. This castle and that of Pembroke were the only castles which held out in the insurrection of the Welsh in 1094.

*Kidwelly Castle* was first erected by William de Londres, one of the followers of Robert Fitz Hamon in his invasion of South Wales. He was also assigned the lordship of Ogmere, where he built a strong castle. Kidwelly castle eventually passed into the possession of John of Gaunt.

*Newport Castle* was first built by Robert Fitz Hamon late in the 11th century. Later it passed into the possession of the earls of Gloucester. The castle, as well as that at Usk, played a part in the conflict between Gilbert de Clare and Simon de Montfort in the Barons' War.

*Usk Castle* was probably built by one of the de Clares in the 12th century, as the lordship was in their possession. It passed to the Mortimers and later into the possession of Richard, Duke of York.

The present parish church was formerly the nave of the church of a priory of Benedictine nuns founded by Richard de Clare in 1236. On Maundy Thursday the nuns prayed for the founder and benefactors, "Sir Richard de Clare and his son Sir Gilbert de Clare, Earls of the Marches, Edmund Earl of the Marches and my Lord Richard Duke of York."



## THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE

In antiquity our College ranks second to Peterhouse only among existing Cambridge colleges, the date of the original foundation being 1326; but it cannot be said with strict accuracy that *Clare* has been in existence for 600 years. The original foundation was called *University Hall*, and it was not till some years later that Lady Elizabeth de Clare took it under her patronage, and refounded it as *Clare Hall*. By this name it was thenceforward known till 1856, when it was thought that *Hall* implied an inferior station, and Clare Hall, Pembroke Hall, and St Catharine's Hall were all recognized as *Colleges*; Trinity Hall was, of course, necessarily left with its old title.

It seems to us a pity that any such unnecessary alteration of title should have been introduced; euphony, apart from ancient usage, is emphatically in favour of the original designation.

It was in virtue of a royal licence, granted at Barnwell, 20 February 1326, to the Chancellor and University of Cambridge to found a new college of scholars, that University Hall was founded and two messuages in Milne street (the original name of the road between Clare and the University Library) assigned to the members for their residence on 15 July 1326.

We are told by Fuller that for 16 years "the students continued on their own charges," but the licence granted 27 March 1327 by King Edward III to acquire lands, etc., to the value of £40 *per annum* is, alone, enough to shew that the Hall was not without endowment from the first.

The building having been destroyed, it is said, by fire, Richard of Badew, the Chancellor, found himself unable to meet the cost of rebuilding it, and resolved in this extremity to appeal to Lady Elizabeth de Clare for assistance. Cole tells us that "one of the College who was a favourite of Lady Elizabeth de Clare, Lady de Burgh, persuaded her to rebuild the College." It is probable that this refers to Richard of Badew himself (although he could not be called "one of the College"), for Badew was a retainer of the House of Clare. At any rate the Lady Elizabeth was appealed to, and readily undertook the task.

The first act which shewed her good-will was the gift (8 April 1336) to the Master and Scholars of the advowson of the church of Litlington in the county of Cambridge, in pursuance of a licence granted 12 March 1336 by Edward III "out of his desire to confer a special favour on the Master and Scholars of University [Hall in] Cambridge."

## THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE

Two years later, 6 April 1338, Richard of Badew, as founder and patron, surrendered all his rights therein to the new patron, and on 5 April 1340 Walter of Thaxted, Master, and the Scholars and Fellows, made over to her and her heirs for ever the advowson of the House. Upon 28 March 1346 Richard of Badew repeated his surrender of his patronage to the new foundress.

That the College was thenceforward known by the title of Clare Hall is shewn by the licence, granted 15 June 1346, by Edward III to the lady of Clare to confer the advowson of Grantesdon (Great Gransden) and Dokesworth (Duxford) upon the "Master and Scholars of Clare Hall, in Cambridge."

It is said<sup>1</sup> that the new title was given by special licence from King Edward III in 1339, but, if so, the licence in question has disappeared. At any rate it dates from as far back as 1346.

It is to be presumed that the advowson of Wrawby in Lincolnshire was also given by the foundress to the College about this time. No copy of a special licence for the gift, or of the bishop's ordinances, has been preserved, but in the first register of leases, etc., pp. 553-554, there is recorded a *compositio* given at Buckden, 2 Jan. 1354, between the Master and Scholars of Clare Hall and the vicar of Wrawby.

The Lady de Clare was a woman of remarkable enlightenment, and no excuse is needed for citing the preamble to her statutes in full. These, which she gave to her College in 1359, the year before her death, make her design quite plain. It was to encourage learning for its own sake, not as a means of advancing the beneficiaries professionally in law or medicine. An admirable rendering of the preamble is given in Cooper's *Memorials* (vol. I. p. 30) and in that archaeological Aladdin's treasure-cave, Smith's *Cambridge Portfolio* (p. 189). It is of this that we now avail ourselves:

To all the sons of our Holy Mother Church, who shall look into these pages, Elizabeth de Burgo, lady of Clare, wishes health and remembrance of this transaction. Experience, which is the mistress of all things, clearly teaches that in every rank of life, as well temporal as ecclesiastical, a knowledge of literature is no small advantage; which, though it is searched into by many persons in many different ways, yet in a University, a place that is distinguished for the flourishing of general study, it is more completely acquired; and, after it has been obtained, she sends forth her Scholars who have tasted its sweets, apt and suitable men in the Church of God and in the State, men who will rise to various ranks according to the measure of their deserts. Desiring therefore, since this consideration has come over us, to extend as far as God has allowed us, for the furtherance of Divine Worship and for the advance and good of the State, this kind of knowledge which, in consequence of a great number of men having been taken away by the fangs of pestilence, is now beginning lamentably to fail; we have turned the attention of our mind to the University of Cambridge, in the diocese of Ely, where there is a body of students, and to a Hall existing therein, hitherto commonly called University Hall, which already exists as of our foundation, and which we would have to bear the name CLARE HOUSE (Domus de Clare) and no other, for ever, and have caused it to be enlarged in its resources out of the wealth given us by God and in the number of students; in order that the pearl of great price, knowledge, found and acquired by them by means of study and

<sup>1</sup> See Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge*, vol. I. p. 29.



## THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE

learning in the said University, may not lie hid beneath a bushel, but be published abroad; and by being published give light to those who walk in the dark paths of ignorance. And in order that the Scholars residing in our aforesaid Clare House, under the protection of a more stedfast peace and with the advantage of concord, may choose to engage with more freewill in study, we have carefully made certain statutes and ordinances to last for ever.

We need not dwell upon the details of the statutes, but a few of the provisions are, we think, interesting.

Fellows were to be chosen on the score of "*conversation, condition, morals, knowledge, poverty and aptitude*," provided that they were legitimate and unmarried. They were to be chosen by the Master "*with and by the consent and assent of the Fellows or the more part of them*": if votes were so divided that no candidate received a moiety at any meeting for a whole month, the election was left to the Master and two Fellows chosen by a majority of the Fellows for the purpose: but the possibility of a minority voting with the Master and a majority—"the more part"—voting for another candidate is obviously not covered by these regulations. This gave rise to repeated disputes, the Master claiming that his concurrence in an election was requisite; but had this claim been conceded, the election by the whole body would have been reduced to a mere farce.

That divinity and arts were regarded as of primary importance is shewn by the statute that there might be on the body at the same time "*two Civilians (and not more) and one Canonist (and not more) and one student of medicine*."

Anyone in the university or elsewhere was eligible for election; no exception was to be taken against anyone on the score of "nationality" (that is to say the county or district from which he came), but *ceteris paribus* candidates from the parishes of the churches belonging to the College were to be preferred.

This last clause was changed in the next statutes (of 1551), and strict regulations were laid down as to the birthplace of the candidates; in particular not more than two from the same county could hold fellowships at the same time.

This regulation led to a constant and most undesirable migration of undergraduates from one college to another, in the hope of election to a fellowship. No doubt experience had shewn that there was a danger of one part of the country being over-represented, and of favouritism outweighing merit in elections.

In May 1820, however, we find a petition to his Majesty "that in all future elections of Fellows the clause inserted by the visitors under the authority of King Edward VI be omitted, and that in future the society be directed by that part of the original statutes of the Lady de Clare which declares that no question is to be made of what nation the candidates are." This petition was granted 2 February 1828.

## THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE

To return to the original statutes. The stipend of the Master was to be 60s. a year; he and the Fellows were entitled to livery, but it was not to be too dainty or expensive. The Master was to assign rooms to the Fellows; he was to have himself one for his exclusive occupation, but Fellows, in pairs, were to share one chamber.

[illegible]

### Preamble to Foundress' Statutes.

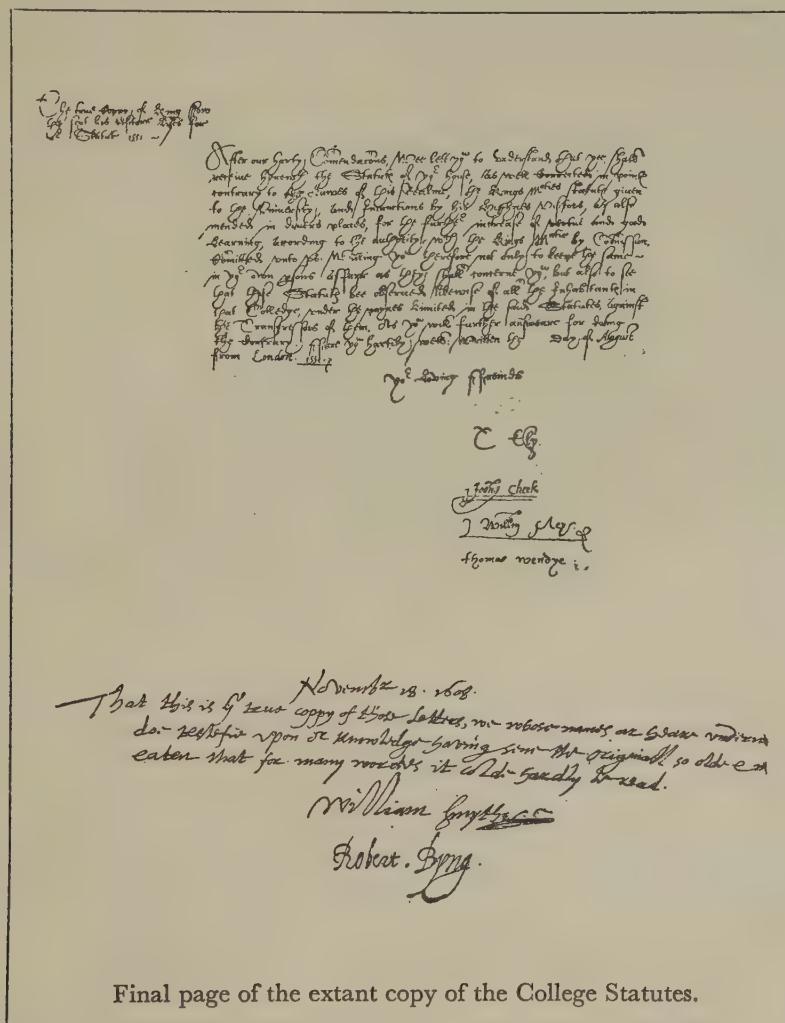
The allowance to Fellows for commons was not to be more than 1s. a week, except at the greater feasts of the Church, which were "exceding" days.

There were to be ten poor scholars (*pauperes scholares*); that these were mere boys, the average age of entry [from 13 to 15] at a somewhat later date makes evident. Docile and respectable youths, the poorest that could be found, were to be chosen, with a preference for those that came from the parishes of which the Master and



## THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE

Fellows were rectors. They were to live apart in a separate building, and dine at the second table: their allowance for commons was not to exceed 7d. a week: but each Michaelmas they were to receive half a mark each for "necessary clothing," which clothing was to be alike for all.



They were to be educated, at the cost of the College, *in cantu, grammatica et dialectica*—singing, latin grammar and logic—and finally "they were not to be sent frequently into the town by the Master and Fellows, which might give them an occasion for absenting themselves from their studies."

Later on servants were introduced into the College to discharge the menial tasks which had hitherto devolved on the *pauperes scholares*. It is interesting to

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observe that objection was raised to this novelty on the ground that persons incapable of profiting in their studies were thus indirectly ousting a class who by this means had been enabled to obtain the advantages of a good education.

Our two line-illustrations represent the first and last pages of an early seventeenth century copy of the Statutes, by which, as corrected and amended by the visitors of King Edward VI, in 1551, the College was governed till the middle of last century.

The first and older copied script gives the beginning of our foundress' preamble, while the later scripts with two sets of signatures represent the letters (also no longer existing) of King Edward's visitors, and finally, the statement, signed by three signatories in the year 1608, of the integrity of both copies.

Smith (*Cambridge Portfolio*, pp. 189-90) renders the visitors' letters and the final endorsement, as follows—

After our hearty commendations we let you to understand that ye shall receive herewith the statutes of your house, as well corrected in points contrary to the laws of this realm, the King's Majesty's statutes given to the University, and injunctions by His Highness' visitors, as also mended in divers places for the farther increase of virtue and good learning, according to the authority which the King's Majesty by commission committed to us,—willing you therefore not only to keep the same in your own persons as far as they shall concern you, but also to see that those statutes be observed likewise of all the inhabitants of that college, under the pains limited in the said statutes against the transgressors of them, as you will farther answer for doing the contrary. Fare you heartily well.

Written this — day of August, from London, 1551.

Your lov. Friends

THO. ELY.  
JOHAN CHEEK.  
WM. MEY.  
THO. WENDYE.

Nov. 18, 1608. That this is the true copy of these letters, we, whose names are underwritten, do testify upon our knowledge, having seen the original so old and moth eaten that for many words it could not be read.

WM. SMYTHE.  
ROBT. BYNG.  
ROBT. GOLDING.



CHAPTER II  
ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES





## THE COLLEGE LIVINGS

The usefulness to a College of Clerical Patronage is now passing away, but for many generations, when Fellows were still required to enter Holy Orders, the College Living was the normal goal to which a Fellow looked forward.

Our Foundress, as we have seen, was moved by the ravages of the plague (*morsu pestilentiae*) to refound and to endow a College which should supply fit and proper persons for the service of God's Church and the State (*aptos et idoneos in Ecclesia dei et republica*), and with these objects—particularly the first—in view she enacted that sixteen out of her twenty Fellows should be Priests or preparing for the Priesthood, and further bestowed on her foundation the Advowsons of Duxford St John's, Great Gransden, Litlington, and Wrawby, thus providing rectorial tithe for the maintenance of her House, while at the same time enabling Fellows to discharge Parochial duties in the parishes in question.

These four livings were all that the College possessed for over two hundred years, until, at the dissolution of the Monasteries, the Advowson of the living of Everton, which had belonged to the Priory of St Neots, was purchased for £144 towards which sum Walter Worlych of Potton contributed £40.

Again, no further additions were made for nearly two centuries, when, within the brief space of twenty years, ten more livings were purchased, the total being thus raised to fifteen.

This extensive increase was due to the sagacity and generosity of one of our most eminent Masters, Dr Samuel Blithe (for so his name was always written by himself). Upon his death in 1713, he bequeathed some £6000 for the purchase of Advowsons of Livings to be offered to Fellows on the Clare and Exeter Foundations, in order, by their acceptance, to promote a quicker succession among the members of the society.

That this was most beneficial to the College cannot be doubted; it provided a sphere of usefulness for the older Fellows, and enabled them to marry, while securing that the work of the College should be in the hands of young men, who might be expected to be more in sympathy with youth.

In 1736, however, after the Advowsons of these ten Rectories had been purchased, an Act of Parliament was passed limiting the number of Livings to be held by a College, according to the number of its Fellowships, and until 1825, when this Act was repealed, no further livings could be bought; but after 1825, two more livings were added, Birdbrook in 1836 and Guestling in 1837; and the Rectory of St Peter's,

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

Duxford, was purchased for £2000, from Corpus Christi College, and united with the vicarage of St John's, Duxford, already in the patronage of the College.

Finally, thanks to the generous gift of the Rev. S. C. Walley, Rector of Hardingham, the College became, a few years ago, alternate Patrons with the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury of the living of Hackford-cum-Deephams in Norfolk.

The income of the Blithe Trust was at first devoted, as it accumulated, to the purchase of additional Advowsons, but during the period when fresh purchases were prohibited, it was expended in augmenting the livings of Everton and Great Gransden, the former being raised to £110 and the latter to £115 a year in 1763, and both to £200 a year in 1825.

In 1870 £4000 was devoted to the augmentation of the living of Wrawby, to enable a portion of the income of the Vicarage to be appropriated to the endowment of the new district of Brigg, and, in 1893, £2000 was made over for the augmentation of the living of Litlington, and £200 more recently.

In 1861 the old Statutes, by which the College had been governed for some three hundred years, were superseded by the action of a Royal Commission, the first of three which have been appointed during the last sixty-five years; the most radical changes then introduced were the removal from our Statutes of (i) the prohibition of marriage in the case of Fellows and (ii) the obligation (in the majority of cases) to enter Holy Orders.

The abolition of these restrictions has had far-reaching effects. It introduced the very beneficial element of domestic life, and has diminished greatly the number of Fellows in Holy Orders.

The personnel of the holders of our College Livings is now seriously altered, two only at present being ex-Fellows of the College, and the proposed regulations for a retiring age for College officers has followed, almost of necessity, upon a change which enabled Fellows to find their life's work in College, instead of quitting it early for a Country Rectory.

Much is now being said of the propriety of surrendering College Patronage into the hands of the Bishops of the respective dioceses; but however questionable may have been the former system of transferring College dons in middle life to the cure of country parishes, there is much to be said in favour of the present mode of appointment. Although the choice is not restricted,—a college being required only to give *prior consideration* to the claims of Fellows, former Fellows and former scholars—yet in practice members of the College are usually chosen, and of the suitability of such the College is probably as well qualified as any to judge.

It should perhaps be added that, in consequence of an attempt now being made to economize man-power, by the union of small benefices with alternate right of





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THE THAMES AT ROTHERHITHE



*From "The Return of the Mayflower" by J. Rendel Harris, Litt.D. (Longmans, Green & Co. 1920)*

THE MAYFLOWER MODEL  
Cf. Chapter IV



CHURCH PLATE OF THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY, ST MARY'S, ROTHERHITHE



ST MARY'S, ROTHERHITHE





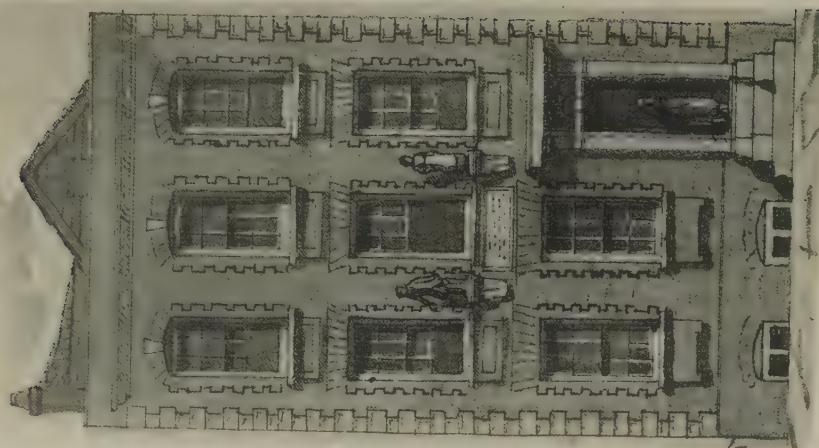
THE FROST OF 1895 AT HAY'S WHARF, ROTHERHITHE



THE THAMES FROM ROTHERHITHE STAIRS DURING THE FROST IN 1789



WALL-TABLET AT ST MARY'S, ROTHERHITHE



ST MARY ROTHERHITHE.  
 FREE SCHOOL founded by PETER HILL since 1571/68  
 CHARITY SCHOOL instituted by ROBERT BELL 1762  
 REMOVED here 1797  
 Supported by Voluntary Contributions.

*Sketch'd 2<sup>d</sup> July 1810.*



## ROTHERHITHE AND THE COLLEGE MISSION

presentation, two of our Livings have been recently amalgamated with another in the neighbourhood, viz., Orcheston St Mary with Orcheston St George, and Litlington with Abington Pigotts.

The Blithe trust, after two hundred years, ceased to fulfil the objects for which it was originally designed; and the income has, by recent Act of Parliament, been now diverted—after provision for the augmentation of the livings of Everton-cum-Tetworth and Great Gransden, to £250 a year—to other purposes for the benefit of the College; it is now applicable to (i) the foundation of additional fellowships, scholarships, or studentships, (ii) the establishment or augmentation of a pensions fund for the benefit of Ex-Masters, Fellows, or Ex-Fellows of the College, (iii) the promotion, generally, of the efficiency of the College as an educational institution, and (iv) the augmentation of the endowment of Livings in the patronage of the College to such an extent as may be by law allowed.

## ROTHERHITHE AND THE COLLEGE MISSION

It is now time to treat of certain livings individually, and, as space forbids a comprehensive survey, priority over the rest has been given to six or seven out of the total of eighteen advowsons in the patronage of the College. Our four Foundress's livings of Litlington, Duxford St John's, and Great Gransden in Cambridgeshire, and of Wrawby in Lincolnshire claim special attention, also Rotherhithe as the mother-church of our Mission, and lastly Patrington on account of its justly famous church. Rotherhithe and Great Gransden demand more than passing notice, if for no other reason than that the histories of these parishes have been so ably compiled by recent incumbents. Gransden, indeed, we reserve for special treatment in a separate chapter.

Rotherhithe lies on the south bank of the Thames, about a mile and a half below London Bridge, and forms a boundary of the Pool of London, on its southern side, though the town stretches round the bend which the river makes as it turns sharp to the south on its way to Deptford and Greenwich.

Canon Beck in his *History* describes the parish as lying "somewhat apart from the main stream of the life of the metropolis by reason of its area occupying the space enfolded" by this bend of the Thames, "so that the main thoroughfares and great railway lines pass along the southern fringe of its boundaries and leave the parish itself almost untouched."

In very ancient times, like Lambeth to the west, so Rotherhithe to the east of London was a low lying marsh submerged more often than not at high tide on the river.

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

The Romans are credited with making the river wall, which, in its turn, made Rotherhithe. For, close along the wall a growing line of habitations developed into Rotherhithe Street, which follows the bend of the river and, being three miles long, is reckoned the longest Street in London. Along the wall too were to be found yard after yard devoted to the building, repair, and breaking up of both river- and ocean-going ships.

The people, living as they did somewhat secluded from the main traffic routes to and from London, formed a community to themselves; even to-day the folk "down Town" retain something of a rustic air.

The name Rotherhithe sufficiently indicates the seafaring character of its people, though not, etymologically, to the extent implied by Canon Beck's derivation, certainly very plausible, from Old English *Rethra* (*reðra*) a rower or mariner, and *Hythe* (*hyð*), a landing-place or haven. Professor Allan Mawer, director of the place-name survey of Great Britain just now proceeding, informs us that the derivation is from O.E. *hyrðer-hyð*, a "cattle landing-place<sup>1</sup>." But it is only of recent years that the commonest local rendering has ceased to be "Redriff," a name which still obtains in the parlance of its waterside inhabitants, and is even painted on the stern of watermen's boats and lighter-barges (e.g. "the Mary Jane of Redriff"). Redriff, too, is the style preferred by the several prominent authors who have touched upon the neighbourhood—Charles Dickens, for instance, in *Our Mutual Friend*, Sir Walter Besant in *The Captain's Room*, and Scott in *The Fortunes of Nigel*, in Chapter XVIII of which the plain featured Mistress Martha Trapbois and young Nigel, aboat together, have to run the gauntlet of remarks from passing watermen, experts in "the boisterous raillery then (in the days of James I) called water-wit." The leading fictitious inhabitant of Redriff was Captain Lemuel Gulliver, whom Swift brings back, after his adventures in Lilliput and Brobdingnag, to end his days in Rotherhithe. The poet-dramatist Gay has an *Epistle* from Mary Gulliver to the Captain, in which occurs this couplet

In five long years I took no second spouse,  
What Redriff wife so long hath kept her vows?

and Canon Beck declares that "the inhabitants were so impressed with the veracity [? authenticity] of their new neighbour that when they desired to vouch for the unimpeachable character of any statement, they would say 'it was as true as if Mr Gulliver had said it!'" As a last instance of the name Redriff in literature we

<sup>1</sup> The variant Middle English forms *Rither-*, *Ruther-*, *Rether-* are normal dialectical variants such as one would expect to find in the London area, the *Ruther-* or *Rother-* form which ultimately prevailed being the distinctively southern one. (Mawer.)



## ROTHERHITHE AND THE COLLEGE MISSION

may cite the first scene of Gay's *Beggars' Opera*, where Mrs Peachum appropriates seven handkerchiefs just stolen at the Opera by young Filch:

*Mrs P.* "Coloured ones, I see. They are of sure sale from our warehouse<sup>1</sup> at Redriff, among the seamen."

To revert to the maritime element in the name Rotherhithe. To-day, though few perhaps are seamen, and the houses in Princes Street which once were the homes of the captains of stately vessels are now let out in flats to men of less exalted rank, the main industry has still to do with the sea, for the Surrey Docks, which cover over 300 acres, are the largest timber docks in the world, and with the string of warehouses that line the river bank, form the staple employment for the men of Rotherhithe, who act as lightermen, stevedores, corn porters, and dock labourers, or in the transport of merchandise from these centres.

The Manor of Rotherhithe, originally part of that of Bermondsey, was separated from it as early as the days of William Rufus, and sometimes as a whole, sometimes in moieties, passed through many hands. A point of special interest is that a moiety of this Manor, being attached to the Honour of Gloucester in the 12th century, passed to Amicia, sole heiress of William of Gloucester who married Richard de Clare, and so the de Clare family were for some time lords of this moiety of the Manor.

At this point it were well to mention Field Marshal Sir William Gomm, grandfather of the present lord of the manor, an old Peninsular and Waterloo veteran and sometime constable of the Tower of London, and to recall his many benefactions to Rotherhithe, especially in support of the Schools.

The Church of S. Mary's, Rotherhithe, stands where there has been a church for hundreds of years, by the river wall. The official list of rectors contains 49 names dating from A.D. 1310, but this list is clearly incomplete, for in 1282 a rector of Rotherhithe had a law suit with the Abbot of Westminster as to his right to a tithe of the fish caught off his parish in the Thames.

The earliest Patrons of the Benefice were the Prior and Convent of Bermondsey, a Benedictine Priory, generally known as the East Minster as opposed to the West Minster, and founded by William Rufus in 1082. The advowson of the living was purchased by Clare Hall in 1730 from the Duke of Chandos, and their first appointment was that of Dr Curling in 1735.

Though the site is ancient, little of the clunch-built mediaeval church remains, for, owing to floods and other causes, it was rebuilt in 1718, the tower following in

<sup>1</sup> Beck conjectures that this "warehouse" was perhaps the Europa Tavern, close to the local Opera House, which was built about 1700, and much frequented. This tavern is believed to be the only one of that name in England.

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

1728. The style is very different from that of St Paul's, Deptford (an unusually beautiful church) or of St Alphege, Greenwich, though all three churches are of similar date.

The church has treasures of various kinds, the plate, perhaps chief of them, being mainly 17th century, and the gift of old seafaring men. For our description of the most important pieces we are indebted to Mr E. Alfred Jones.

The silver dish (see illustration) is a piece of Spanish domestic plate of the early 17th century, diameter  $11\frac{3}{8}$  inch. It is embossed on the rim with two cherubs' heads and two grotesque masks, fanciful dolphins and foliage. On the curved edge of the interior are two rows of hollow lobes, separated from the depression of the dish by a row of diamond-shaped ornaments. The depression is embellished with large plain twisted lobes, in the manner of those on "Hispano-Moresque" pottery of the 16th century. In the centre is a small circular platform, with a border of embossed foliage. Surrounding the platform are a stag, a rabbit and a goat crushed into horse-shoe shaped panels, separated by scrolled foliage in similar panels, the whole embossed and enclosed in a circle.

The earlier chalice is of the conventional shape of the early 17th century, having a deep beaker-shaped body engraved with Elizabethan interlacing strap-band, filled with arabesques. The edges of the stem and foot have ovolo mouldings.

Inscription: An. Dom. 1620; height,  $9\frac{1}{8}$  in.; date 1619-20.

The later chalice is a copy of the above with coarser ovolo mouldings. It is engraved with a variation of the arms of Crouch and with an inscription, dated 1672, shewing it to have been the gift of Matthew Crouch.

Both chalices have domed covers, inscribed: Sept. 12, 1713.

The most important of the remaining pieces of plate is a noble plain flagon (weight 55 oz.), with a low, slightly domed cover, and a wide splayed base. It is engraved with a variation of the arms of Stone, and inscribed:

*The Gift of Captaine Thomas Stone y<sup>e</sup>  
Younger Aug:<sup>th</sup> 9: 1666  
To y<sup>e</sup> Parrish Church of Rothorhith*

Shortly after his restoration in 1660 Charles II gave to Rotherhithe, as he gave to many other parishes, a picture of his father; to-day only three such paintings are extant, and of these our specimen is the most complete. It is an exact reproduction in oils of the frontispiece of the well known book *Eikon Basilike*, the authorship of which is attributed to Charles I himself, while lying in prison awaiting execution.

The carving at the east end is by Grinling Gibbons and bears in its design his



## ROTHERHITHE AND THE COLLEGE MISSION

sign manual, a split peapod. The east window is of old glass and represents the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Many interesting and quaint memorials of past worthies were affixed to the walls of the parish church, and to this subject Canon Beck devotes a whole chapter of his book, the first mentioned being "a singularly fine sculpture of a man-of-war of the olden time now built into the western wall of the north aisle, outside the church, near the tower."

Consideration of space permits us to deal only with one other memorial, the inscribed tablet within the church, and gravestone without, of Prince Lee Boo. The tablet-inscription runs as follows:

In the adjacent churchyard lies the body of  
Prince Lee Boo  
Son of Abba Thulle, Rupack or King of the Island  
of Coo-roo-raa, one of the Pelew or Palos Islands.  
Who departed this life at the house of  
Captain Henry Wilson in Paradise Row in this Parish  
on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of December 1784 aged 20 years.  
This Tablet is erected  
by the Secretary of State for India in Council  
to keep alive the memory of the humane treatment  
shown by the natives to the crew of the Honourable  
East India Company's Ship "Antelope" which was wrecked  
off the Island of Coo-roo-raa on the 9<sup>th</sup> of August 1783.  
"The barbarous people showed us no little kindness." Acts XXVIII. 2.  
1892.

This inscription epitomizes a story well worthy of the home-town of Lemuel Gulliver, but true. In Chapter XVI of his book Canon Beck relates the events underlying the publication, in 1788, of "a rare quarto volume with many illustrations," George Keate's *Account of the Pelew Islands situated in the western part of the Pacific Ocean composed from the journals and communications of Captain Henry Wilson, etc., etc.* A copy of this handsome quarto is in the College Library, and contains the likeness of Abba Thulle, of one of his wives, Ludee, and of Lee Boo his son, all three reproduced in Beck, who notes that from the time of Henry IV till 1783 no person of royal descent had made even a temporary abode of Rotherhithe. In 1783, however, the Pacific princeling was brought to Redriff by Captain Wilson, his education in England being intended as an act of gratitude for the admirable treatment recorded above, when a rather different kind of warm

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

reception had been anticipated. The experiment was novel and the subject of it charming, as well as naïve. He travelled from Portsmouth to Redriff by coach, and

found it was very pleasant—that he had been put into a little house, which was run away with by horses—that he slept, but still was going on; and, whilst he went one way, the fields, houses, and trees all went another—everything, from the quickness of travelling, appearing to him to be in motion. At the hour of rest he was shown by Mr. M. WILSON up to his chamber, where, for the first time, he saw a four-post bed; he could scarce conceive what it meant—he jumped in and jumped out again; felt and pulled aside the curtains; got into bed, and then got out a second time to admire its exterior form. At length, having become acquainted with its use and convenience, he laid himself down to sleep, saying *that in ENGLAND there was a house for everything*.

We would willingly quote on, but must not. The story is winsome and refreshing, and happened, too, opportunely for ideal recording in the idiom of the matured 18th century, here heated by its exotic subject to a temperature slightly warmer than the norm of cool and ethical curiosity. Both style and story might have been invented by David Garnett.

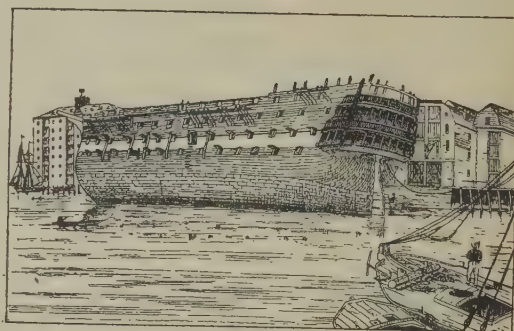
‘The Prince’ succumbed, alas, to smallpox within a year of his arrival.

Another church, commonly known as “Little St Paul’s,” was built in 1850, as a chapel of ease to St Mary’s. Here the altar rails and two chairs are of the oak taken from the “Fighting Temeraire.” It was while boating off Greenwich marshes in Blackwell Reach, one autumn evening of the year 1838, that J. M. W. Turner conceived his famous picture. Clarkson Stanfield, the artist, was one of the party, and as the old ship, after 40 years afloat, was being tugged past them to her last berth in the breaker’s yard at Rotherhithe, Stanfield ejaculated, “There’s a fine picture, Turner.”

There are four Church Schools in the parish, each with a history of many years’ service behind it. The senior must alone be mentioned (cf. Chap. II, Plate IV, Fig. 2).

This Amicable Society’s School is an amalgamation of the Hills and Green foundations of 1613, 1700, and 1739. The Master’s house has a commemorative tablet and two figures in the old costume of the charity school—if not the oldest, at least one of the oldest of the elementary schools of London.

The population of Rotherhithe in 1811 was 12,314, and in 1840 13,917; at present it is between 40,000 and 50,000, chiefly owing to the development of a working class residential area, following improvements in the system of drainage. It is served by seven churches, of which the latest is the Clare College Mission, which takes charge of a detached portion of the Parish of All Saints.



THE TEMERAIRE AT ROTHERHITHE



## ROTHERHITHE AND THE COLLEGE MISSION

This account of Rotherhithe would not be complete without a brief biography of the author of its *History*. Edward Josselyn Beck came of an old Lincolnshire family which had migrated to Suffolk. He was born at Needham Market in 1832 and was educated at Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School in Ipswich, 1844-51. He entered Clare in 1851, when Dr Webb was still master, and the late Master college tutor. He became a classical scholar of the College (still then Clare Hall), and in 1855 graduated as Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos, after being top of the second class of the Classical Tripos. He then took up the study of theology, and, in Dec. 1855, was elected to a Fellowship, being ordained the following year. There was at this time no opening for work in the College, and Beck's philanthropic instinct made him anxious to work as a parochial clergyman in London. This he did in poor St Pancras neighbourhoods for the next four years, till his recall to Clare as Dean by the new Master, who had succeeded Dr Webb in 1856. On his marriage in 1865 Beck gave up the office of Dean, though continuing for some years to remain a Fellow. In November, 1865, he was appointed Vicar of Litlington, the village history of which he would doubtless have written had Rotherhithe not fallen vacant. Nov. 1867 found him installed in Rotherhithe rectory.

At Rotherhithe the main work of his life was done; for forty years he watched over the gradual development of a country parish into a populous suburb, and finally returned to Cambridge to spend the evening of his days. By his death on 17 Oct. 1924, in his 93rd year, the College lost its oldest, and perhaps its fondest, member. Beck is recorded in the list of our Benefactors as founder of a scholarship for ordinands reading for Honours in Theology. It was in 1883, under his rectorship and with his enthusiastic help that the College Mission was founded. We may fittingly turn to its history from his own.

### *The College Mission*

A movement for carrying the life of the University into the poor and crowded areas of London had begun about the year 1880. Clare was among the first of the colleges to move. The Rev. F. Marshall, who had recently gone down, enlisted the support of a hundred old Clare men, and a meeting of senior and junior members of the College together, in May 1883, decided to establish a Mission with the aim of "Christianizing some spiritually destitute district." A committee was formed under Dr Atkinson's chairmanship which initiated the Mission. The "spiritually destitute district" chosen was in the parish of All Saints, Rotherhithe, and cut off from the parish church by the whole width of Southwark Park. The inhabitants of this inner area are mainly artisans, labourers, factory hands and clerks. When a family prospers, it migrates to a more desirable neighbourhood, and is replaced by

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another at its own former level, newly escaped from worse conditions. In this way the economic conditions of the district remain constant and uniform, and shew no material change since 1885, when the Rev. A. E. King, as first Missioner, began the work. There are 800 houses in the district, containing, with very few exceptions, at least two families in each. Every family lives in a state of perpetual insecurity. Illness or trade depression will bring the most prosperous to acute want in a few weeks. And there is never much to spare.

The work of the Mission began in two hired rooms in a house. But on 5 January 1886, Bishop Thorold dedicated the first Mission church, with seating for 160. The subsequent history of the Mission has been very uniform, and can be epitomized in one "cross-section." Such an one has been supplied by the Rev. D. L. Bryce, for the year 1914. He and his Assistant Missioner lived together in a hired house. A lady Mission worker, and a "Bible-woman" lived in the district. There were also a caretaker, a club steward, and an organist. The Mission premises consisted of the then newly-erected church, the first building of its kind to be built of ferro-concrete, and not without architectural merits; the adjoining parish room, that had been constructed chiefly by means of volunteer labour; and "the Arch." This last is one of the arches of the viaduct that carries the Southern Railway out from London Bridge, turned into a sort of concert-hall and meeting-room, while a smaller arch at the back serves as a men's club room.

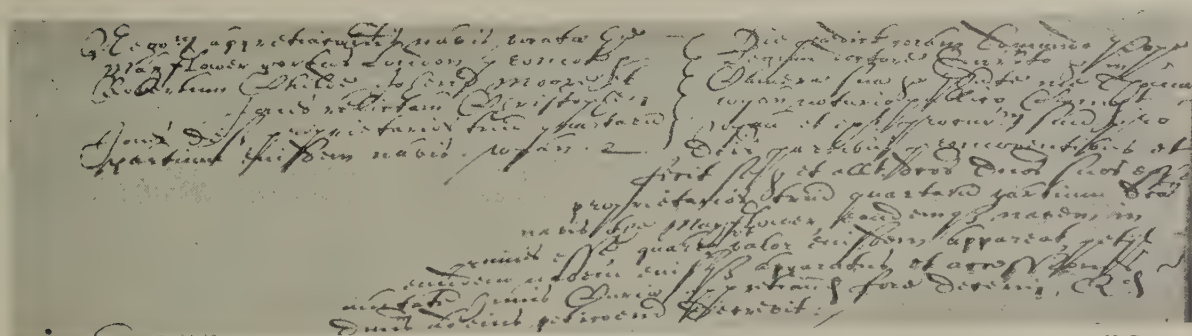
The staff of the Mission worked on the principle that they were there to Christianize the district. But the work of the Mission was very far from being just their work. The whole body of men and women, boys and girls, who were in touch with the Mission, shared in its work. The church was the centre of the whole life. It was the church that bound the manifold activities into a unity, established their principle and provided their inspiration. But they were indeed manifold, clubs for men, lads and girls, Scouts, Guides, Cubs and Brownies, children's play-guilds, Mothers' meeting, "Slate Club," socials, classes and concerts. Casual young people, drifting in, were promptly involved by keen Mission people in some part of these doings. The influence of the Mission passed from the more inspired to the less inspired. And in spite of the continual moving away of the most prosperous, they never failed to be replaced. And so the work went on.

There were special times when the Mission realized itself; at the great church festivals, when the Mission came *en masse* to its "rejoicing before God," at outings, when Mission folk went off together to take brief recreation in the green country beyond the houses, and above all, on August Bank-holiday, at Cambridge, in the hospitable hands of the College. An even greater, but all too rare event would be a visit of Clare men to Rotherhithe. But this was apparently regarded at Clare as





ST MARY'S AND OLD FLOATING DOCK, ROTHERHITHE



From "The Documents concerning the appraisement of the 'Mayflower,'" ed. by J. Rendel Harris (Longmans, Green & Co. 1920)

*Negotium appretiacionis navis vocatae the Mayflower portus London promotum per Robertum Childe Johannem Moore et — Jones relictam Christopheri Jones defuncti proprietarios trium quartarum partium eiusdem navis. WYAN.*

*Die predicto coram Edmundo Pope legum doctore surrogato, etc., in camera sua, etc. Presente me Thoma Wyan notario publico comparuit Wyan et exhibuit procuratorium suum pro dictis partibus promoventibus et fecit se, etc., et allegavit dictos dominos suos esse proprietarios trium quartarum partium dictae navis the Mayflower, eandemque navem in ruinis esse, quare ut valor ejusdem appareat petiit eandem navem ejusque apparatus et accessiones auctoritate hujus Curiae appretiandam fore decerni. Quod dominus ad ejus petitionem decrevit.*

The matter for the appraisement of the ship called the "Mayflower" of the Port of London, brought forward by Robert Childe, John Moore and — Jones, the widow of Christopher Jones deceased, being the owners of three fourths of the said ship. WYAN.

On the day aforesaid before Edmund Pope, Dr. of Laws, Surrogate, etc., at his chambers, etc., in the presence of myself Thomas Wyan, notary public, appeared Wyan and exhibited his power of attorney on behalf of the said parties bringing forward, etc., and made himself, etc., and did allege that his said principals were the owners of three parts of the said ship "Mayflower," and that the said ship was dismantled (in ruinis esse), therefore that its value might be determined, he asked for a decree on the authority of this Court for the appraisement of the said ship and her tackle and belongings, which the Master of the Court decreed at his request.

THE MAYFLOWER'S DEATH CERTIFICATE, ROTHERHITHE, 26 MAY, 1624

Cf. also Plates XVIII and XIX, and Chapter IV, p. 191



COLLEGE MISSION HALL IN RAILWAY ARCH, BERMONDSEY-ROTHERHITHE



ALL SAINTS', ROTHERHITHE; CLARE COLLEGE MISSION CHURCH





[POOL OF LONDON AT ROTHERHITHE  
Shewing old granaries and St Mary's



PRINCE LEE BOO Second Son of ABBA THULLE.  
Published by C. Whistler for Captain Henry Wilson on the 1st March 1793

A ROTHERHITHE CELEBRITY



From the Etching by J. M. Whistler

ROTHERHITHE REACH



*Copyright Survey Flying Services*

PATRINGTON, EAST YORKS

Shewing Rectory House at middle of margin to extreme right



## ROTHERHITHE AND THE COLLEGE MISSION

too terrible an adventure to be often essayed. The life of these Mission folk was cheerful enough on the surface, but there was plenty of pathos, and even tragedy underneath. When young, they may fairly be described as living in a furnace of temptation. And after youth came the cruel and deadening struggle for a livelihood, slowly knocking the heart out of those who had been so bright and full of spirits. But it was just this that brought out the meaning of "Christ in the heart," and shewed it to be the thing by which the work of the Mission stood or fell.

Such was the state of things then. And it is essentially the same now, only with a single-handed Missioner, and funds of which the adequacy is never secure.

The answer to two questions remains to be given. (1) What has the Mission done for the district? To this it may be said that it has enabled many to attain to a high level of spirituality, and of steady moral endeavour in the face of great difficulties, and to many more it has given real inspiration and substantial increase in fulness of life. (2) What has the Mission done for the College? The two institutions are very intent on their own business, and points of direct and conscious contact are slight and rare. But it is a matter of history that the Mission by engaging the interest of a succession of Clare men in social work, has recruited invaluable workers. Two Scout Commissioners may be instanced, who got their introduction to the movement in the first instance simply through the Mission. But beside such particular benefits, the Mission has contributed to the life of the College one of more general importance: it has given it an element that is purely unselfish and public-spirited. The loss of that would be irreparable.

### THE MISSION STAFF

#### SENIOR MISSIONERS

1885-1889. The Rev. A. E. King.  
1889-1898. The Rev. H. B. Amos.  
1898-1901. The Rev. J. R. Pridie.  
1901-1908. The Rev. W. P. Godwin.  
1908-1915. The Rev. D. L. Bryce.  
1915-1916. The Rev. W. M. Opie (*acting*).  
1917. The Rev. H. Embling (*acting*).  
1917-1918. The Rev. W. Telfer.  
1918-1920. The Rev. J. Thrift.  
1920-1925. The Rev. A. P. Daniels.  
1926- . The Rev. C. G. Anders.

#### JUNIOR MISSIONERS

1889-1891. The Rev. H. C. B. Foyster.  
1891-1893. The Rev. T. C. Gobat.  
1893-1898. The Rev. J. P. L. Amos.  
1899-1905. The Rev. H. R. P. Tringham.  
1905-1908. The Rev. D. L. Bryce.  
1909-1914. The Rev. W. Telfer.

#### WOMEN WORKERS

1895 (?) - 1910. Mrs Marchant. (*Biblewoman*).  
1895 (?) - 19 . Mrs Blake. (*Biblewoman*).  
1910-1912. Miss Watson.  
1912-1925. Miss D. Peacock.  
1926. Miss Barber.

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

### CHRONOLOGY

- 1883 (May). Meeting at Clare decided to commence the Mission.  
1885. The Rev. A. E. King appointed Missioner, commenced work in May.  
1886 (January). The first Mission Church opened. Cost £886.  
1887. The Parish Room opened. Cost £286.  
1897. The Mission Church extended. Cost £651.  
1904. The Arch opened. Cost £300.  
1911. The Mission Church demolished as unsafe.  
1912. The present Mission Church opened. Cost £2718.  
1925. The Parish Room rebuilt. Cost £1105.

A house purchased for the Missioner. Cost £400.

Total capital expended, £7346, of which £4500 has been given by Clare men.

### PATRINGTON

The advowson of Patrington in south-east Yorkshire was purchased by the College from Lord Dunbar in 1717 for £550. That it has not been consistently kind to its incumbents may be inferred from its sinister *sobriquet* "Patrington kill-parson." However that may be, it has another title to fame in the possession of what is perhaps the loveliest village church in England—the "Queen of Holderness" as it is called locally. The view of the village from the air (Plate VIII) gives a good idea of the beauty of the church, as well as of the one part of it which has been much criticised—the tower and spire. From the air the tower looks every inch of its 190 feet, and better still, steeple and tower are taken as one inseparable organism. But, when we come to earth, some of our satisfaction comes down with us, for we cannot feel that the problem of the relation of tower to spire, so troublesome to mediaeval architects, has been successfully solved. The pinnacles, which, like the corona, are later additions, are fantastically irrelevant. The corona itself, though an individually charming feature, does not grow to and from the tower, nor does the spire grow from it. If we compare the tower and spire of Patrington with that (e.g.) of S. Mary the Virgin at Oxford we shall feel at once that in the latter example the problem has been grappled with more successfully. At St Mary's the transition from tower to spire is admirably peopled by the decorative parapet at the point of junction and by the rich tiers of crocketed pinnacles that rise in recession from it, and crown, in doing so, the successively stepped-back stages of the coupled corner buttresses. Nor can it be said of Patrington that the flying buttresses are effective. Bond (*English Church Architecture*, p. 952) says "the flying buttress pretends to prop up the spire, but except at Louth, the pretence is a ludicrous failure; especially is this so at Patrington." And yet, when all's said and done, we would on no account have the spire away, or disencumbered of corona or





*From "English Church Architecture," by Francis Bond, Vol. II, p. 949. (Oxford University Press)*

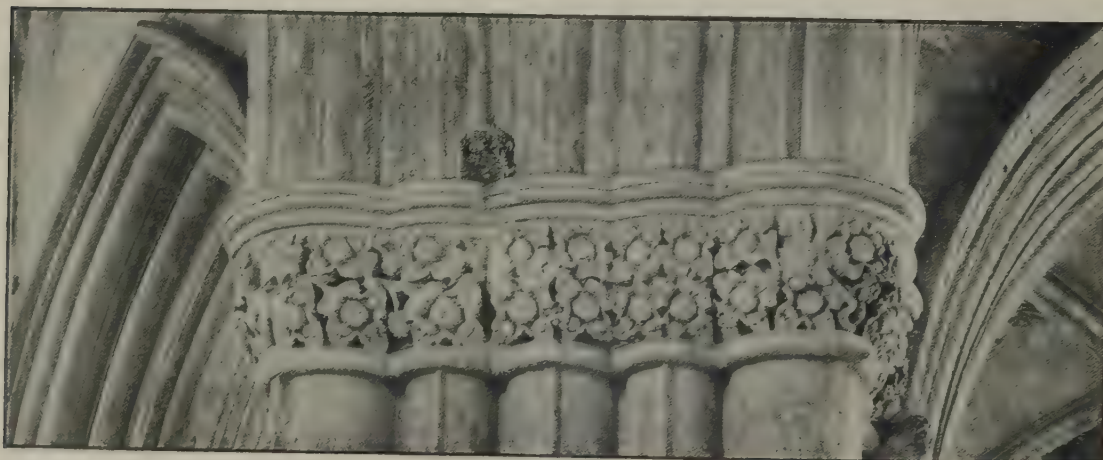
*Phot. F. B.*

ST. PATRICK'S, PATRINGTON, FROM SOUTH-EAST



*Copyright F. H. Crossley, Chester*

EXTERIOR OF CHANCEL



*Copyright F. H. Crossley*

CAPITAL SHEWING VINE-LEAF UNUSUALLY STYLIZED

PATRINGTON





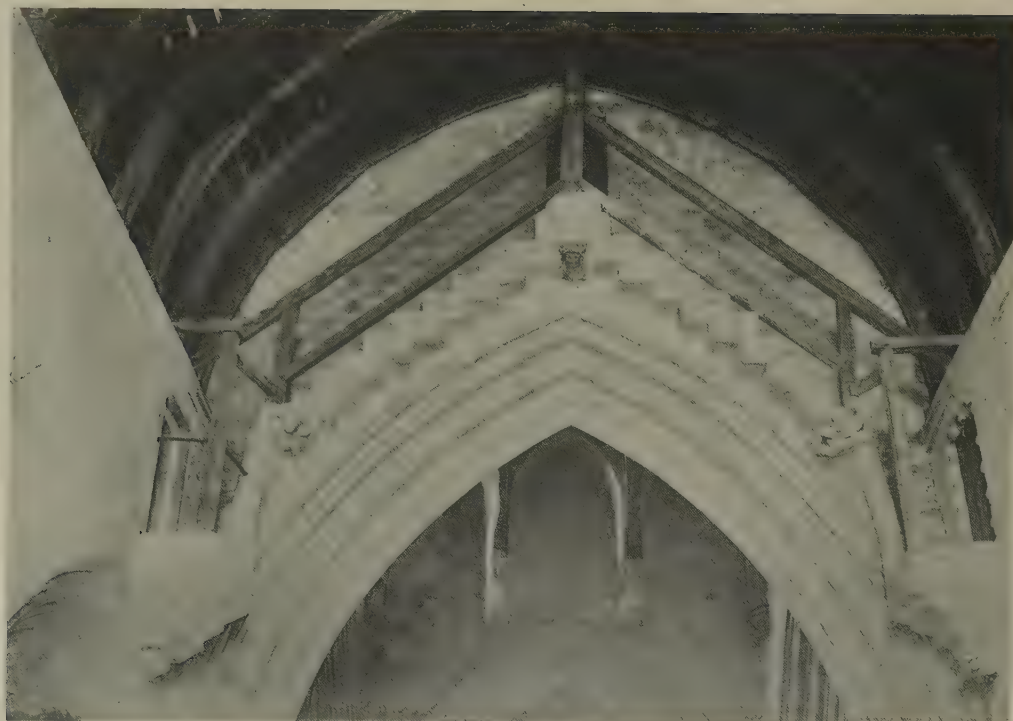
*Copyright F. H. Crossley*

INTERIOR OF CHURCH



*Copyright F. H. Crossley*

A CAPITAL  
PATRINGTON



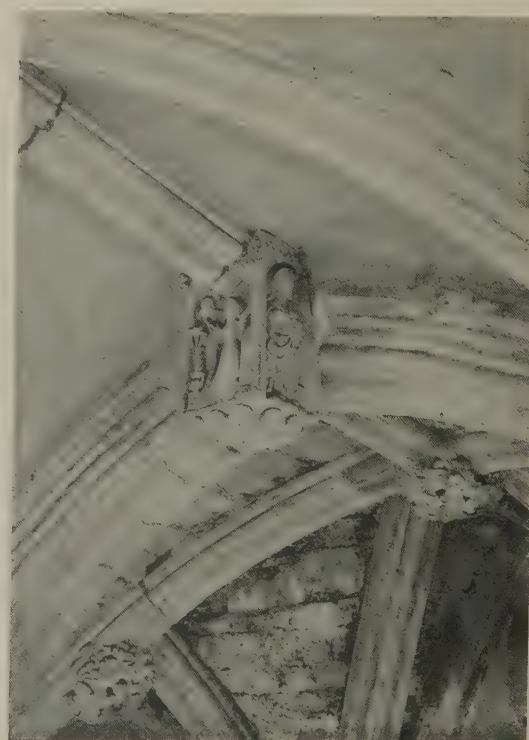
*Copyright F. H. Crossley*

TOWER STAIRS, SOUTH TRANSEPT



*Copyright F. H. Crossley*

THE EASTER SEPULCHRE



*Copyright F. H. Crossley*

'LANTERN' BOSS IN LADY CHAPEL

FEATURES AT PATRINGTON



## PATRINGTON

pinnacles or even of the buttresses. The very faults of an old church endear it to us. A faultless building is often a lifeless one, and certainly Patrington is neither the one nor the other. But enough of criticism. Let us now proceed to admire the rest of the church, which we can do with but little reserve. Before we enter the building we may draw attention to three leading features, well shewn in our illustrations:

(1) The simple, yet graceful dignity, externally, of the composition, especially of the aisleless chancel, notwithstanding the absence of a clerestory.

(2) The striking contrast values gained by the steeple's springing to such a height from such relatively low, because clerestoryless, substructures. These are no more than forty-five feet high.

(3) The gracile and varied tracery of windows whose design seems to impose on a flamboyant impulse a certain exquisitely tantalizing rigidity. The spirit of this tracery is true to northern and especially to "York school" type, and it is with a tactful sensibility that Sir Giles Scott, the architect of our Memorial buildings, has made use of the fine firmness of such tracery types in Liverpool Cathedral. In these broad windows, "in which stone is interlaced," we have as with the "tower-like buttresses gabled and pinnacled, the rich handling of the fourteenth century masons at its best." At Patrington the varying traceries are unusually helpful in enabling us to determine the chronology of the church's growth. Our authorities place the main bulk of the re-building<sup>1</sup> between 1295 and 1349, though the work was not completed till 1410, being interrupted by the Black Death. The large gable windows of the transepts, where the re-building started, are of distinctly geometric type; in the nave, next erected, the windows are curvilinear, while the great west window is more flamboyant, the east window, finally, having perpendicular tracery inserted in 14th century jambs and arch.



ST MARY'S, OXFORD  
From C. Wickes, *Spires and Towers*,  
(ca. 1850).

<sup>1</sup> The lancet windows in the belfry stage of the tower must have formed part of an older church and were incorporated with the later 14th century edifice.

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

But it is time we entered the church, and took a brief review—plan first and details later—of some of its special beauties and peculiarities.

In the first place, then, only three other parish churches in England (Melton Mowbray, Faversham and St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol) have east and west aisles to both transepts. One consequence of these double aisles in transepts as well as nave is that the whole weight of tower and spire rests on the four large central piers. It is a high tribute to the daring of the master-mason “architect” and to the skill of the builders that these piers have sustained their burden so well. Another result is that anyone standing at the right point in the north aisle can look across to the south transept and enjoy the intricate beauty of column cutting column, arch cutting arch, and space disclosed beyond space, much as in a sort of miniature Milan Cathedral. Hereabouts, indeed, the dominant formal aspects of the interior are strikingly metaphorical, as so often in the case of the finest Gothic, of forests, the great piers that support the crossing suggesting some unimaginable fossil artistry of primeval oaks, the lesser cluster-column piers of nave and transept superb ideally fossilized cane-palm hybrids, with flower and fruit agglomerations compressed to braided fillets at the sprouting of richly membered vaulting ribs from parent trunks.

These last, the capitals, though supported on engaged columns distinguished from each other by deep depressions, are constituted of such close and horizontally continuous foliage patterns that the eye prefers to receive them as though woven, rather, on one plane, subject to slight depressions, than on a system of regularly moulded undulations. No less than four of these braided capitals are reproduced by Bond, who remarks for one of them an unusual method of conventionalizing the vine leaf (Plate X, Fig. 2). They were once, doubtless, lavishly coloured and gilded, as in the case of fragments preserved in the museum at St Mary’s Abbey, York. Frankly, we prefer the later state.

Passing to minor features and to details<sup>1</sup>, we may take the little Lady Chapel first. This chief amongst the church’s six chapels is situated in the central bay of the south transept. The main wall has been thrown out in the shape of an apse, covered with a vaulted stone roof to give the requisite dignity.

A curious feature in this vaulting is what one can best describe as an elongated lantern-like boss (Plate XII, Fig. 3). On three sides are representations of the Annunciation, St John the Baptist, and St Catherine; the fourth, that facing the altar, is not carved. It is held by some authorities that this boss was longer at one time, and that in the hollow on the side uncarved a light burned, directing its beams on the altar and altar piece; by others it is believed that it was a receptacle for relics.

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted for much of this account to the pamphlet *Pattrington Church, a short History*, by the late Rev. W. J. Peacey, 1923.



## PATRINGTON

Above the main arch of this transept, as we face northwards, there is a curious staircase leading up to the ringing chamber. The effect, as seen from the floor, is peculiar. We almost feel that we are looking at a gigantic specimen of Norman zig-zag work (Plate XII, Fig. 1).

The chancel, as we have noticed, has no aisles. Apart from the grace of its proportion it is interesting on account of the Easter Sepulchre, which is to be seen on the north wall within the sanctuary. This is constructed in four divisions. In the lowest are the Roman soldiers asleep, dressed in mediaeval armour; in the second a Cross and the Host were placed on Good Friday to be left till Easter Day, when they were brought out and placed on the High Altar; in the third our Lord is seen rising from a coffin (!) with an angel on each side censing Him; the topmost division is bare. The stone there looks as though it might have been carved to represent the clouds of the Ascension, but there are now no figures or other indications to help us in deciding what was its original meaning.

Mr E. Tyrrell-Green considers the *sedilia* here to be amongst the finest in the kingdom<sup>1</sup>.

In spite of its modern and conjectural cornice, the oak chancel screen is amongst the finest half dozen that Yorkshire can boast, though its work is of earlier Decorated than that of the others.

The roof of the church deserves notice. In the nave and transepts the old timbers remain, but the chancel roof was renewed about 1880. It is not a little interesting to contrast the picturesque roughness of the old work with the almost overtrim neatness of the new. The nave and transept roofs were at one time strengthened by tie beams; the stone corbels still remaining as evidence. But they were cut away in the latter half of the 19th century as being unnecessary, and the seeming height of the church thereby increased—an interesting effect which shows how skilful design can produce unexpected results.

Stone vaults are uncommon in parish churches, but the south transept at Patrington was stone-vaulted by its builders, who intended, as we have seen, to complete the aisles and the other transept similarly.

Over the south porch there is a so-called Priest's Chamber with windows so arranged that all the entrances to the church are visible from it. Here the sacristan could guard the valuables of the church, and could rest when not ringing the bell for service or performing other duties, such as attending the Sanctuary lamps, etc.

The octagonal pulpit is Jacobean, and dated by inscription 1612. There are similar dated pulpits at Roos and Halsham.

The gargoyles which remain are all worthy of attention and may be compared

<sup>1</sup> *Parish Church Architecture*, by E. Tyrrell-Green (S.P.C.K. 1924).

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

with specimens at Ely; four, which are found on the south transept, are particularly interesting. One represents the martyrdom of St Lucy who was stabbed in the throat by a soldier; another that of St Verena, who was drowned; while two men playing, the one a kind of bagpipe and the other a viola, are to be seen on the others. Generally speaking, such subjects were not chosen for this purpose.

The late Rector, the Rev. W. J. Peacey, in his monograph referred to above sums up his encomium on the Church under three heads: the graceful dignity of its proportions; the variety, elegance, and distinctive character of its details, "concerning which we may say that they are always good and often exquisite"; and, above all, its variety of design. With this last we may fitly leave the finest building, save the College itself, with which we of Clare have any connection. As was the case with our Old Court, the church took about a century to complete, and yet both creations impress us with their essential unity of design. This is a rare artistic quality, and it imposes exceptional responsibilities upon those in whose precarious keeping something so precious lies. South-east Yorkshire indeed is rich in noble architecture. From York itself, whose Archbishops were Lords of the Manor of Patrington till the time of Henry VIII, we can easily visit Beverley, Hull, Bridlington, Howden and Hedon, all of which possess splendid churches. But Patrington need not fear comparison with any of these. To it the mother-church of the Diocese owes some part of its beauty, since there is a close resemblance between the later work at Patrington and work done at the same time at York Minster. It is something for Patrington to be proud of that its wonderful church is the product of local<sup>1</sup> genius, and that this genius was recognized in building the chief church of the Metropolitan diocese. There may be something to be said for a college's parting, in these times, with many, perhaps with most, of its livings. But it may be hoped that it will be many a long day before Clare parts with the three Cambridgeshire advowsons given us by the Foundress, with Rotherhithe, and, last but not least, with St Patrick's, Patrington.

## LITLINGTON

Litlington is a parish some 15 miles south-west of Cambridge and 4 miles north-west from Royston.

In Mawer's opinion the early forms of the name leave little room for doubt that the O.E. name was *Lytelinga-tun*, "farm of Lytel's people." The same personal name is found in Lidlington, Bedfordshire, and Littleton, Middlesex.

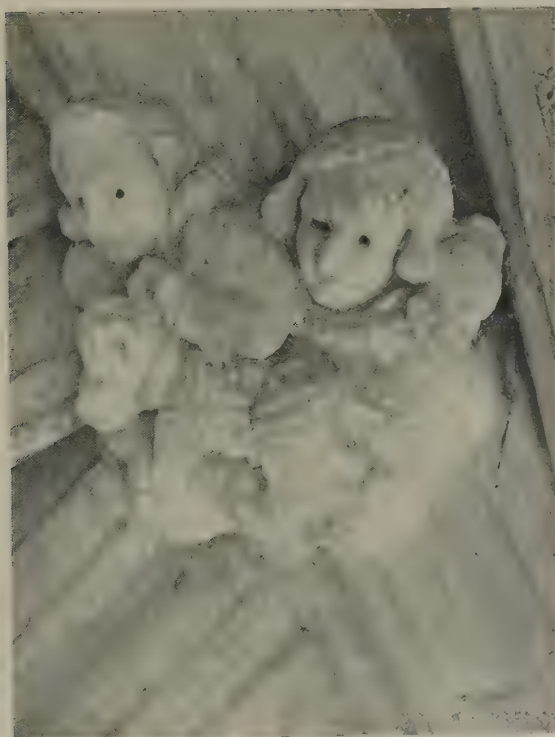
<sup>1</sup> The influence of the "Gloucester" school of church-builders, widespread as it was in England, is scarcely, if at all, felt at Patrington. The east window of the chancel is the only part where such influence may have been possible.





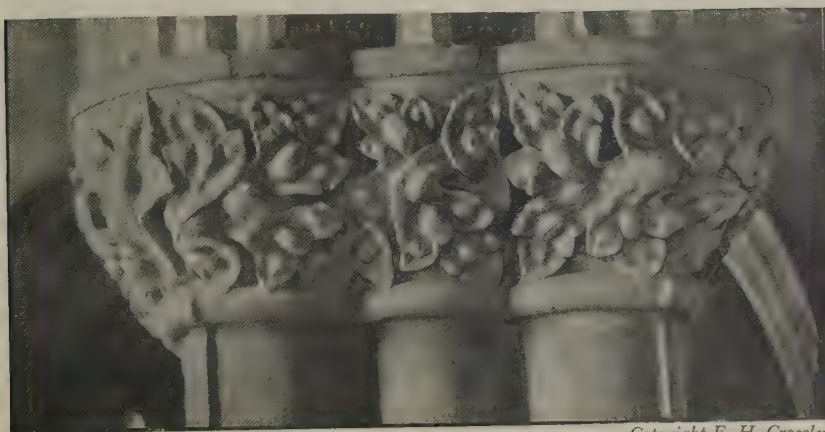
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A GARGOYLE



*Copyright F. H. Crossley*

A VAULTING-BOSS



*Copyright F. H. Crossley*

A CAPITAL

SOME DETAILS AT PATRINGTON



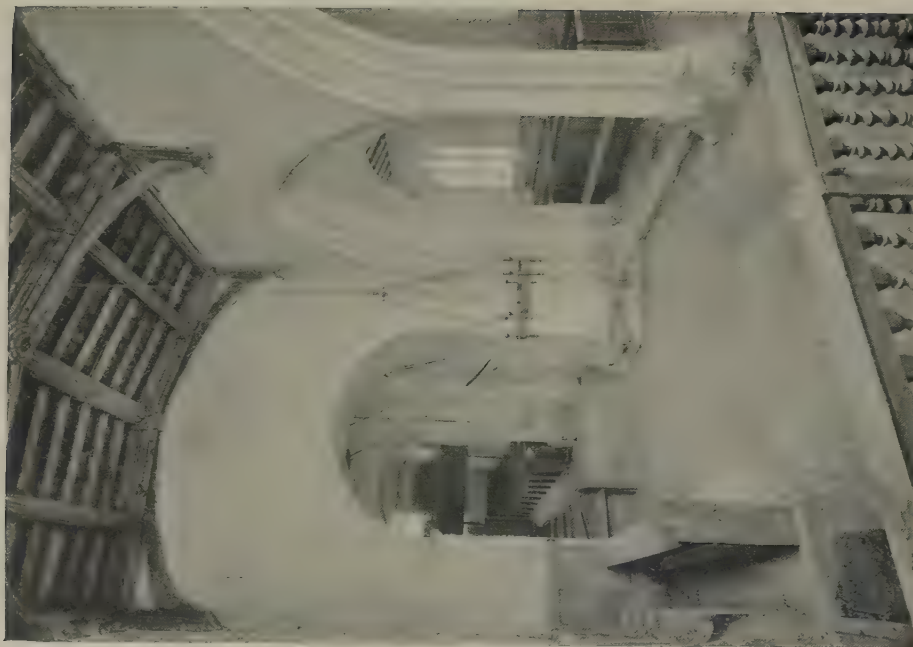
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THE SOUTH SIDE



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THE CHANTRY CHAPEL SEEN FROM CHANCEL



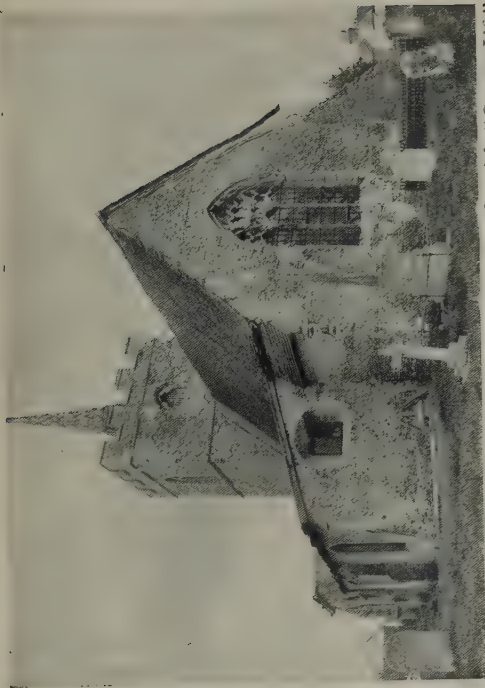
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LOOKING WEST FROM WITHIN THE  
ALTAR RAILS

Note the exceptionally massive fifteenth-century roof

ST JOHN'S, DUXFORD





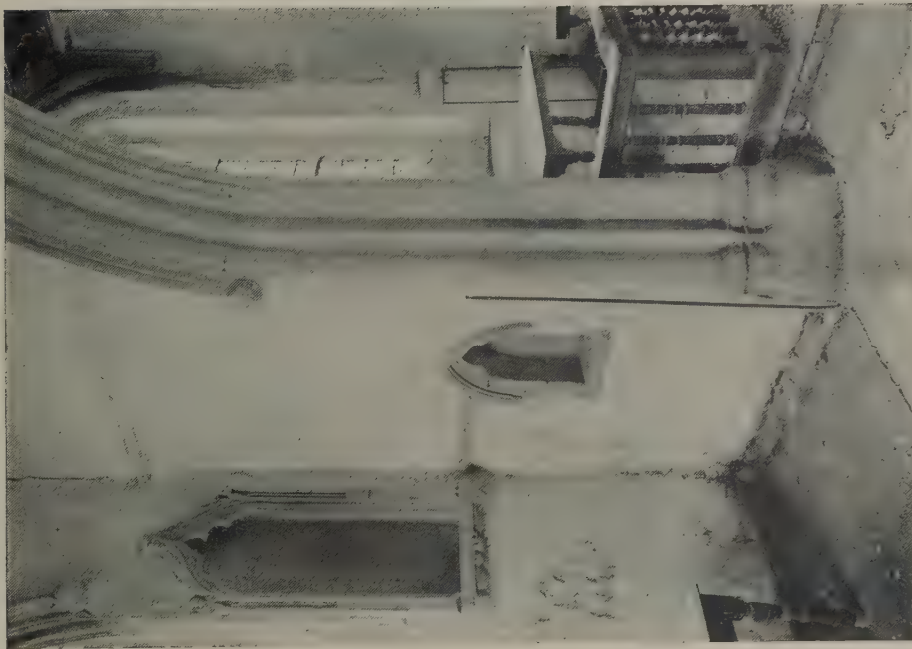
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THE WEST END



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NORTH-EAST CORNER OF CHANTRY CHAPEL



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ST JOHN'S, DUXFORD



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ENTRANCE TO ROTHERHITHE



## LITLINGTON

The Rectory of Litlington was impropriated to University Hall, so soon to become Clare Hall, in 1338. Cooper<sup>1</sup> states "we have not found any mention of Lady Clare in connection with the College previously to the appropriation of the church of Litlington, but from that period she took the most lively interest in it, . . ." So far as we know, then, this gift was the earliest of our Foundress's generous favours.

In Farrer's *Feudal Cambridgeshire* there are several entries showing that land in Litlington was held of the Honour of Gloucester. Among them are:

1160. The Earl of Gloucester was pardoned 10s. out of 10 m(arks) imposed on Erningeford hundred for a murder. *Pipe Rolls*.

1262. Robert Loring holds 1½ fee in Lutelington of Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford. *Cal. Inq.*

John de Huntingefeld holds ¼ fee in Litlington and Walter de Nebton ½ fee there of the same earl who had the advowson of the church. *Cal. Inq.*

In such entries as these we may feel the reverberation in the air of secluded places of the great events recorded in Chapter I. The distant demises of Richard and of "Red" Gilbert de Clare in 1262 and 1295 must have set many an official, major or minor, itinerating through our east country parishes.

The Church of St Catherine consists of chancel, nave, aisles, south porch and an embattled western tower containing six bells. The chancel, nave, and north aisle and upper part of the tower are of the period to which we must refer the greater part of church buildings as they now exist—the Decorated. There is a square, Norman font, and a good Perpendicular rood-screen of five divisions: a neighbour church to Guilden Morden would have to have at least a passable rood-screen.

There are two *graffiti* which are not without interest. On the east splay of the middle window of the south aisle, there is faintly scratched the following:

*Franciscus Drake eques Navigaturus Anno Regni Augustissimae et Serenissimae principis Elizabethae Dei gratia Angliae Franciae et Hib—Regina Fidei defensoris tricesimo septimo*

*F. dem semper*

*John Sherman*

*Aprilis decim.*

On the most easterly of the nave piers to the north there is, more largely and robustly written, the laconic opinion

*Tam mari quam terra*

*Robertus Brownest.*

1594

Sherman and Brownest were both, apparently, seamen, and the former, at least, it seems, on the point of joining Drake on his last expedition to the West Indies, in the course of which the great adventurer died.

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Cambridge*, vol. 1, p. 29.

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

Other such intimately attractive items are the corbel heads or masks, which, often found at the intersection of nave and aisle arches, and elsewhere, are probably, according to Evelyn-White, in large part portraits. Two such corbel heads, on a pier of the north nave arcade, cheerily greet the visitor as he enters the church. Almost cheek by jowl, they perpetuate, perhaps, a real married couple. The lady's head is triple-wimpled, on forehead, at chin, and, with a certain distressing tightness, beneath the nose. But most intimate of all, to Clare men, is the secret of the vestry. The writer was amazed to recognize that the Jacobean style oak-panelled cupboards which equip this room are of a design identical with that of the three hundred year old bookcases in the College Library. It appears that the removal of this woodwork was contrived by the Rev. William Webb, so soon to become Master of the College, when Vicar of Litlington, in 1818. There is a College Order dated May, 1818, "to consider plans for converting the old Library into sets of Rooms for undergraduates." This "old Library" was over the Hall. Webb doubtless reflected that there was more woodwork than could be packed into the Fellows' Library, as we may call it, and solved the question of preservation by taking the cupboards to Litlington<sup>1</sup>. Although it is not easy to forgive the transfer, it must be confessed that the tone and appearance of their admirable woodwork combine with the dark cherry-coloured hue of the brick floor to make a very charming room.

An attractive survival at Litlington is the practice, still kept up, of distributing a dozen loaves of bread every Sunday morning after matins to such respectable poor men of Litlington as have attended the service. This is the charity<sup>2</sup> of Robert Stoughton, alderman of London, who died in 1690 and is buried at Litlington.

It is in place here to refer briefly to Francis Holcroft, who was associated with Litlington, as he was later with Gransden. Conybeare<sup>3</sup>, in describing Oakington, beyond Girton, as the "Mecca of Cambridgeshire Free Churchmen" (because in its churchyard rest, side by side, the three men to whom the chief sects of the county trace their spiritual ancestry—Francis Holcroft being first of the three), goes on to describe how Holcroft "began his ministerial career by taking on himself to supply the place of a brother collegian, the Puritan minister in charge of Litlington, who, most unpuritanically, was often incapacitated by drink from performing his duties." Shortly after, though only twenty-two years old, Holcroft himself became minister of Bassingbourn, hard by, in 1655. Deprived under the Act of Uniformity in 1662,

<sup>1</sup> Some years later there was a similar transfer from Corpus Christi College to Thurning, Norfolk, a C.C.C. living, with the result that in Thurning Hall there are two carved pillars salvaged during alterations to the chapel of that college.

<sup>2</sup> There used to be a similar charity at Duxford by which herrings were distributed during Lent. This is now commuted for a money payment.

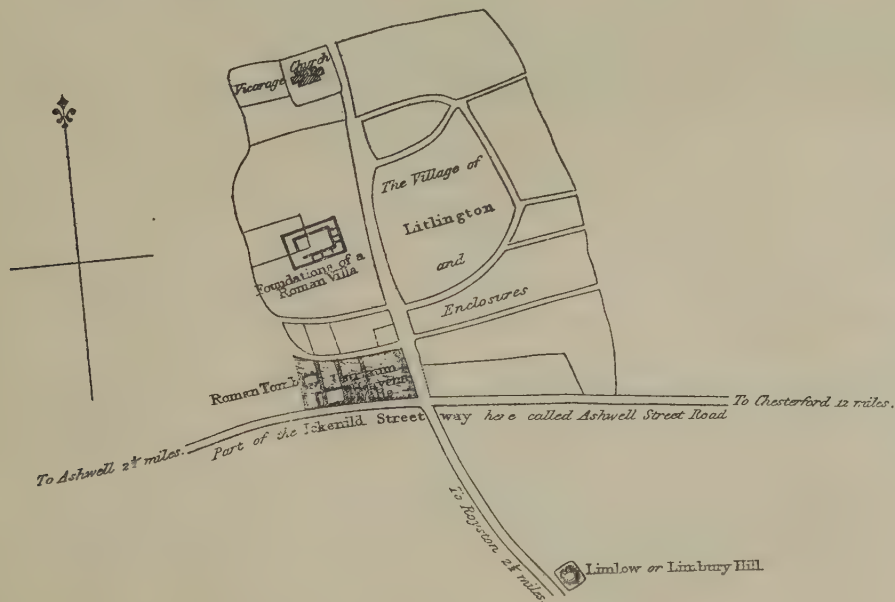
<sup>3</sup> *Highways and Byways in Cambridgeshire*, by the Rev. Edward Conybeare, p. 288.



## LITLINGTON

he started, at much risk, a preaching campaign, collecting adherents who had to subscribe an extraordinarily solemn Profession of Faith. After the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, these uniform, as it were, Nonconformists split up into divers groups. But these "Chapel" groups were always nearer to each other than to "the Church," and, to quote from Conybeare once more, "the strength of the Dissenting spirit thus implanted at Oakington may be measured by that of the language employed by the zealous Archdeacon of Ely, who, in 1685, declared this to be 'the most scandalous parish and the worst in the diocese. The people most vile.'" Such vituperation cuts two ways. We should prefer to have Barnabas Oley's estimate of Holcroft.

The parish of Litlington has unusual interest for the antiquarian. In 1821 an extensive Roman cemetery was discovered on the outskirts of the village, and its excavation superintended by Dr Webb, who deposited many of the discoveries in the College Library<sup>1</sup>. These were subsequently removed to the Geological, and later to the Ethnological Museum.



J. Basore sc

A brief notice of the discovery was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in January 1822, by Dr Webb, then Vice-Chancellor of the University, as well as Master of Clare, "by favour of whose lady" Mr Kempe was enabled to exhibit in

<sup>1</sup> The Library possesses an off-print of the account of this discovery in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi; entitled, "Account of the collection of Sepulchral Vessels found in 1821, in a Roman *Ustrinum* at Litlington, near Royston, and now preserved in the Library of Clare Hall, Cambridge: communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Alfred John Kempe, etc., 1836."

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

London "the accurate and tasteful drawings she has made from different objects (upwards of two hundred in number) in the collection."

Though Roman Britain has become, in the intervening century, a study more elaborate than Kempe could have conceived, he would still be right, we think, in claiming that "the contents of the *Ustrinum*<sup>1</sup> at Litlington have hardly ever been surpassed for number and variety, and are remarkable for minutely shewing the manner in which persons, few of whom were probably above the ordinary grade, were interred." Nevertheless we must content ourselves with a reproduction of the map which concludes Kempe's account, and with some brief remarks in explanation of it.

The neighbouring Roman Villa (in which the late Professor McKenny Hughes, of Clare, took considerable interest) was being excavated at the outbreak of the War. A tenant of the farm in which it is situated had amassed from the locality an interesting collection of coins and other objects.

The site of the *ustrinum* had been called "in ancient deeds, from time immemorial, 'Heaven's Walls.'" It is a singular fact, attested by Dr Webb, that a traditional awe attached to this spot, and that the village children were afraid to traverse it after dark, on account of its reputation as a place frequented by beings of supernatural order.

## DUXFORD

The living of Duxford comprises the ancient parishes and churches of St Peter and St John, and is some nine miles south of Cambridge, and a mile from Whittlesford Station.

In 1346 the advowson of St John's was purchased from Thomas de Lacy and Alice his wife for presentation to the College by Elizabeth de Burgh<sup>2</sup>. In the 16th century there was a further connection of the College with this parish. The income of the Manor of Lacy's was left by Sir William Fyndern, Sheriff of Cambridgeshire, on his death in 1517, for a period of fifty years to Clare Hall, of which foundation he is said to have been a member.

<sup>1</sup> An *ustrinum* was, in Kempe's description, a large plot of ground environed by walls, where the remains of the ordinary class of dead were burnt and their ashes deposited in urns of earthenware, without much cost or ceremony, according to the trite quotation:

*Hic misere plebi stabat commune sepulchrum.*

An *ustrinum*, according to Montfaucon, was square, and in compass about 300 feet. The circumference of that at Litlington is about 390 feet.

<sup>2</sup> In 1270 Duxford (or Dokesworth) was part of the Honour of Striguil (Chepstow) through previous possession by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. This fact affords a connection between the place and our Foundress.



## DUXFORD

Two other Cambridge colleges have had connections with the parish. The Manor of Dabernoons was purchased by Caius College in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The living of St Peter's was held by Corpus Christi College until it was purchased from them and united to the Clare living of St John's.

Both Duxford churches have Norman, and both have Early English features. These latter are more numerous in St Peter's, where the aumbry (or locker), the piscina, two good sedilia, and a fine low-side window<sup>1</sup> on the north side of the chancel, date from the 13th century. St Peter's is rubble-built, the embattled tower being largely Norman, incorporating, possibly, some Saxon work. It has a partly Norman, partly Early English chancel, and a Perpendicular nave with clerestory, aisles and a south porch.

This church has lost much in quality and appeal by a costly restoration carried out some fifty years ago. St John's, the original Clare church, which we prefer to illustrate<sup>2</sup>, has been fortunate in having escaped restoration, although neglect was carried so far as to endanger the structure.

It consists of Decorated chancel, with adjoining chantry chapel of good Decorated workmanship; nave, with north aisle, from which it is separated by pleasing Perpendicular arches and piers; south porch with good Norman doorway having in its tympanum (one of four in Cambridgeshire) a Maltese cross enclosing a rose; and a sturdy central embattled tower<sup>3</sup> of Norman date, its upper portion being early Decorated. Chancel and tower arches, both Norman, have billet moulding, and the latter, in addition, triple shafts capped by the square abaci characteristic of Norman work.

Our photographs of St John's were taken originally to illustrate an eloquent article<sup>4</sup>, appealing for support in the work not of "restoration" but of *repair*, that appeared in the issue of *Country Life* for December 23, 1922. If Great Gransden provides an object lesson in the wide, clear, and humane handling of a parish history by its Vicar, the recent history of St John's Church, Duxford, has been so far, all

<sup>1</sup> This low-side window and the Easter Sepulchre at Patrington justify a reference to the remarks of Evelyn White, in his book on Cambridgeshire churches, about the connection between these two features of mediaeval churches. In his opinion a low-side window was introduced into some churches in order that the ceremonies at the Easter Sepulchre, which is generally a recess in the north wall of the chancel, could be seen from the outside of the church, when they would be screened from the inside by the Lenten veil. It is not claimed that all low-side windows were, or could be, put to this use. Similar openings in the temples of India afford a view of the sumptuously decked chief idol and its shrine.

<sup>2</sup> The drawing by F. L. Griggs in *Highways and Byways in Cambridge and Ely* is of St John's, and not, as labelled, of St Peter's Church.

<sup>3</sup> The twisted spire is the result of an indiscreet attempt to mount a heavy flagstaff on Diamond Jubilee day.

<sup>4</sup> "A Cambridgeshire Village Church," by H. Avray Tipping. For the right to reproduce from both illustrations and letterpress we are indebted to *Country Life*, to which periodical we are further indebted for the loan of the illustrative half-tone blocks.

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

things considered, a model of ideal interaction between incumbent and architectural authority in the matter of church repair. It is for this reason that we have thought it desirable to quote so liberally from the article in question, as well as because its author succeeds in evoking the special aesthetic experience aroused by an interior whose charming spaces combine with forms both of delicate detail and of unassuming massiveness to create a sentiment of which the quiet working is subtly reinforced by the association with forlornness.

The Church of St John's was evidently the chosen place of worship of a thriving community certainly as early as the twelfth century, as we may judge from the style and quality of the arches of the central tower. Favourable conditions continued. Every century left its mark. The fourteenth century chancel, the fifteenth century north aisle, the early seventeenth century pulpit and late seventeenth century altar rails, are all there. . . . But the nineteenth century saw decay and indifference arise and flourish, until some forty years ago the ancient fane was left derelict.

Abandoned by men, it became so tenanted by birds that the spectacle of its interior might well have occasioned the harrowing description, whose occasion and author we cannot recollect—

...Pigeons horribly as well as owls  
Bedaubed the church. . . .

In 1877 the attention of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings was drawn to the state of the church. No action, however, appears to have been taken till 1915 when the Society addressed itself both to the College and the Rector, and received sympathetic replies.

The result was a visit from Mr William Weir in January, 1916, and though the details of his report are most interesting to all who either do, or should, appreciate the distinction between repairs and restoration, we have not space to give them. Once more, however, nothing material was done until in February, 1918, the Rector reported to the S.P.A.B. that a threatened window arch and part of the contiguous wall had fallen out. This repair having been effected, matters were left as before until the appearance of the article from which we are quoting.

The writer concluded his appeal for money to carry out "the modest suggestion of the 1916 report" as follows:

That it is worth doing, surely the accompanying illustrations amply prove. The texture of the rubble walling, . . . is a charming setting for the worn, yet adequate tracery of the windows . . . the whole grouping of the matured and weather-worn aggregate of the gradually evolved fabric rising out of an ample area of turf and encircled by the old habitations of generations of parishioners—all strike the eye as a model of what an English village church should be. . . .

Step inside. . . . Endless generations of past Duxfordians are with you, whispering in your ear what each, in its own time and in its own manner, has done. All that village craftsmen devised and performed during the ages when the church was a central object of their lives and interests is there collected around you. To the left is the fifteenth century arcading of the aisle, beyond which the wall is broken by the little doorways in and out of the staircase, that led to that essential fifteenth



## DUXFORD

century feature, the rood-loft. The alignment along the central way of solid oaken pews—still Gothic in feeling, although, perhaps, of early Tudor date—is broken by the panelled pulpit dating from before the civil wars, just as the twisted baluster and broad rail of the altar suggest destruction in those times and renovation after the King returned in 1660. Step within them and look back and up. The massive timbers, richly moulded and with carved floral bosses at the intersections form a roof, simple indeed, but rendered impressive by its construction, its craftsmanship, and its picturesque qualities heightened by the tone and texture of age. Then pass through one of the twin arches that open from chancel to chantry and enjoy the latter's detail. Flanking the window are delicately sculptured niches of somewhat different but perfectly balancing design. The cusping of the arch of the southern one is reproduced for the piscina in the return wall. Glance round to the north wall and you complete the picture of the past. The great iron-bound coffer, with separate locks for parson and wardens, lies in the corner. Next to it is some simple stallwork, with one end enriched with arcaded panels and running vine pattern frieze, which probably were saved from a destroyed screen, but find a most apt and happy resting place where they are.

Yes, how good it all is—better, indeed, in its neglect than if 'thorough restoration' had befallen it. See to roof and wall cracks, ensure dry foundations, mend windows, freely use broom, mop and whitewash brush, and no parish church will be more interesting, more sympathetic than Duxford St John's, modest though it be. There is nothing grand in its fabric or sumptuous in its fittings. But it is eloquent and convincing in the message it gives of . . . the endeavour and achievement of its founders and continuators, all members of a simple but robust Christian community. Set it in order, but in no other way alter or enrich it, and this church becomes a wholly enticing spot. . . .

Since the compiling of this account of Duxford, a series of articles on the Church of St John have been appearing weekly, the first of them on May 19, 1926, in the *Cambridge Chronicle*. The author, Dr Louis Cobbett, has dealt with a sympathetic subject in great detail and with meticulous archaeological scholarship, and we greatly regret that the publications have occurred too late for us to use them here. Such archaeological 'cases' have latent affinity with detective literature, and, closely and succinctly argued, excite a similar sort of thrill. We trust it may later be possible, in College Magazine or Annual, to supplement our account from Dr Cobbett's.

Two other buildings make a visit to Duxford still more worth while. The Red Lion Hotel at Whittlesford Bridge is said to have once formed part of a small monastic establishment<sup>1</sup> formerly existing here, and has ancient and fanciful wood-carving on a mantel-piece and rafters. The chapel belonging to this religious house (of Saint John) is hard by, and better, though not well enough, known.

<sup>1</sup> Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, p. 268, *temp.* Hen. III. "Before this period William de Colvill founded the priory of Witlesford on land in Duxford, near the bridge of Witlesford."

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

### EVERTON

The parish of Everton-cum-Tetworth is situated in two counties (Everton in Bedfordshire, Tetworth in Huntingdonshire) and on the very borders of a third, Cambridgeshire; a little more than half-way between Bedford and Cambridge, from which last it lies about fifteen to sixteen miles west-south-west.

Everton is a very common place name and is from O.E. *eofor-tun*, "boar-farm," Tetworth being from O.E. *Tettan-wor*, "Tetta's enclosure or farm."

In 1140 Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, granted the advowson of the church, together with land in Everton, to the Priory of St Neots. At the time of the dissolution the temporalities of the priory in Everton together with the rectory and the advowson were granted to Clare Hall.

The single church, St Mary's, which serves both parishes, is in Tetworth.

The chancel appears to be the oldest part of the church, its eastern quoins, in large stones irregularly bonded, looking very much like pre-Conquest work. The absence of anything else of the same character in the chancel makes the matter doubtful, but as other details of the chancel belong to the first half of the twelfth century, the earlier date is not impossible. The chancel, being of the full width of the nave, should in the ordinary course of development be the successor of a narrower chancel, but in this instance the process seems unlikely, and it is just possible that, as elsewhere, the present chancel was the early church, to which a nave and aisles as at present were added in the twelfth century<sup>1</sup>.

The church plate includes a cup of Elizabethan type with a roughly engraved band of ornament, and marked "Everton." The flagon is of 1694, given in 1695, and has an inscription within a border of feather mantling<sup>2</sup>.

The remaining feature of special interest in the church is the memorial of Sir Humphrey Winch, Chief Justice of King's Bench in Ireland. He was buried in the cloisters of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, but the monument was set up in the parish where his family had long been resident. "It is of alabaster and coloured marbles, a very well-designed and effective composition, having in the middle a recess containing a half-effigy in judge's robes, the face keen and life-like. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Between the College farm and the vicarial property there was, once, one of the finest holly hedges in the country. Everton village stands on high ground and commands a wide view.

Clare men should not fail to visit, in the churchyard, the naively inscribed tomb of the Rev. John Berridge, 1716-93, whose piety at an early age excited, like that of Nicholas Ferrar, much attention and a little apprehension. His relatives, "conceiving that his predilections for reading and religion would entirely unfit him for

<sup>1</sup> *Victoria County History: Bedfordshire*, vol. II, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



## EVERTON

business, reluctantly resolved to send him to the University." He accordingly entered Clare Hall in 1734: "he is gone," as his father, a wealthy farmer of Kingston, Notts, remarked to an enquiring friend—but, we are assured, jocosely—"to lighten the Gentiles." The latter, however, appear to have lightened him, of a good deal too much moral ballast, as young Berridge himself was soon grievously reflecting. He graduated B.A. in 1738, and M.A. 1742, and from 1749 was for six years curate of Stapleford, near Shelford, and was finally elected to a Fellowship. He was mortified, however, to make but little impression on parishioners as dissolute as they were ignorant, in spite of the fact that Cole at this period humorously slights him as "head of a sect called Berridges near Cambridge." In 1755 he was presented to the College benefice of Everton, but mortifying sets-back continued to occur, till their resolution in the sudden form of the experience known as conversion. After this, in 1758 Berridge came to know Wesley and Whitefield; mutual interchange of preachings took place, and Wesley formed a high opinion of him. Berridge had never spared himself—for twenty years after his entry at Clare he had consistently worked for some fifteen hours a day—but after his conversion his activities were often prodigious, though doubtless easier because more varied and more physical. In an itinerary that used to lead him throughout five counties, and was repeated for over twenty years, he would preach on an average ten to twelve sermons a week, and frequently ride a hundred miles. Indeed, his tall stature, robust frame, strong voice, natural wit and cheerfulness, and marked commonsense combine with his habit of "rural riding" to make us think of him as a kind of evangelical Cobbett, but much more trustworthy and equable than that certainly greater man. In the single year following his conversion he was visited "by a thousand different persons under serious impressions, many of whom found that his purse was as open as his heart, though not so large." However, it was not so small neither, as Shakespeare might put it, for

*at home* his tables were served with a cold collation for his numerous hearers, who came from far on Sabbaths, and his field and stable open for their horses. *Abroad* houses and barns were rented, lay-preachers maintained, and his own travelling expenses disbursed by himself. Cottagers were always gainers by his company. He invariably left an half-crown for the homely provision of the day, and during his itineraries it actually cost him five hundred pounds in this single article of expenditure.

There is no doubt that we must add John Berridge to the tale of notably humane Clare-bred incumbents. Small wonder that an immense concourse of people attended his obsequies, and that Charles Simeon came forth from Cambridge to preach the funeral sermon. He was, indeed, much better fitted to have been Tillotson's chamber-mate, at Clare, than was Holcroft, and the collocation of all three reminds us that Tillotson started, under paternal influence, as a rigid Puritan,

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

and was sent to Clare Hall especially to be under the Presbyterian divine, Dr Clarkson.

We have compiled our biography of Berridge largely from the brief life which introduces a small volume in the College Library, and presents for its frontispiece a likeness of this large and attractively snub-nosed man. This volume contains reprints (there were many) of his *Christian World Unmasked*; *Pray Come and Peep* and *Cheerful Piety or Religion without Gloom*.

The fortunate nearness to Cambridge of four of our five oldest advowsons has enabled us legitimately to treat this chapter in the main as a "neighbourhood" section of the book. In a long summer afternoon's cycle ride Gransden, Tetworth-Everton, and Litlington, could easily be visited<sup>1</sup>, and the settings in which Oley, Holcroft and Berridge laboured, be tasted for their *genius loci*; which is, at Gransden at any rate, very much the *genius viri* in addition. But more can be added to such an expedition, and a grander, or, rather, more magnificent genius of place and person be evoked. Between Tetworth and Litlington the route might be made to lie by Gamlingay and Hatley St George, erstwhile the seat of Sir George Downing, Bart., of East Hatley and Gamlingay, who was not only a Fellow-Commoner, in 1668-69, at Clare, and later a College benefactor, but the descendant and the forbear of important persons. Grandson of Emmanuel Downing (Trinity Hall) of Salem, Massachusetts, who had married the sister of the famous New England Governor, John Winthrop, "our" Sir George was son of another famous, if rather unpleasantly equivocal, personality—Sir George, the Cromwellian and Restoration politician, who gave his name, not then an altogether savoury one, to Downing Street, and died in 1684.

"Our" Sir George, finally, was father of the founder of Downing College, last, in the direct line, of his race.

Moreover, between Hatley St George and Cambridge is situate Wimpole Hall, the largest mansion in Cambridgeshire, best noted for the very long ( $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles), broad, and double-ranged elm-avenue at the west end of which the house is seen—rather as if through the wrong end of a telescope.

According to Lysons<sup>2</sup>, Wimpole was purchased, in 1710, by John Holles, fourth Earl

<sup>1</sup> Though not, perhaps, with Drayton's as one's only map, as to which we may give the following information. In 1588 John Legate (or Legatt) was appointed University Printer. It was he who first adopted, in 1606, the well-known figure "of Alma Mater Cantabrigiensis," with motto "Hinc lucem et pocula sacra." The central figure in Drayton's map portrays this emblem, to which the poet alludes as follows in the *Polyolbion*:

"O noble Cambridge then, my most beloved town  
In glory flourish still, to brighten thy renown;  
In woman's perfect shape still be thy emblem right,  
Whose one hand holds a cup, the other bears a light."

<sup>2</sup> Lysons' *Magna Britannia, Cambridgeshire*, p. 287.





## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

of Clare, who waxed so rich and powerful that King William III was prepared to make him Duke of Clarence, had it not been urged that that title had always been appropriated to princes of the blood. At any rate the title of Duke of Newcastle, which had become extinct three years before by the death of his uncle, Henry Cavendish, without male issue, in 1691, was now in 1694 resuscitated in the person of John Holles. He, too, however, had no heir male, and his only daughter, who married Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, would, it is said, have been the richest heiress<sup>1</sup> in Europe had not—we hazard the conjecture—his nephew, Thomas Pelham, been admitted to Clare Hall in 1709-10. Pelham's period of residence at Clare was just before the death of Holles, and it is not, we think, an idle surmise that the nephew became quite naturally ingratiated to his uncle during frequent visits between Clare Hall and Wimpole. At any rate John Holles at his death endowed Thomas Pelham with the bulk of his vast possessions.

Lacking his enormous wealth and status, our only Premier, Thomas Pelham-Holles, could hardly have acquired sufficient prestige to endow, as it were, a bias to intransigent and unaccommodating policy. Yet, though he was politician rather than statesman, it was the act of a statesman to advocate, and earnestly, as Pelham did two years before his death in 1766, the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was reserved for his grand-nephew, Charles Townshend, who came to Clare a generation later, to revive a snake that had been scotched, and precipitate an inter-kindred conflict of which the outcome was the ignominious ejection of British rule from the garden of America.

Last but most briefly to be mentioned of our four original advowsons is Wrawby (the *by* or farm of *Wraghi*, the latter an old Danish name), near Brigg, in Lincolnshire.

The village is situated on a detached spur of the Wolds rising to a height of some 170 feet above the vale of the Ancholme, and has a population of about 700.

About 1563 there were in *Wrawbie* 50 families, and in *Glanford-brigs* 60 families; in 1676 there were 443 inhabitants over 16 years of age—402 conformists, 28 non-conformists, 13 papists. . . . Before 1354, Wrawby was a Rectory; in 1354 the lady of Clare, the foundress of Clare College, procured the necessary sanction for the transfer of the rectorial tithes to the College, which then became the patron of the vicarage. . . .

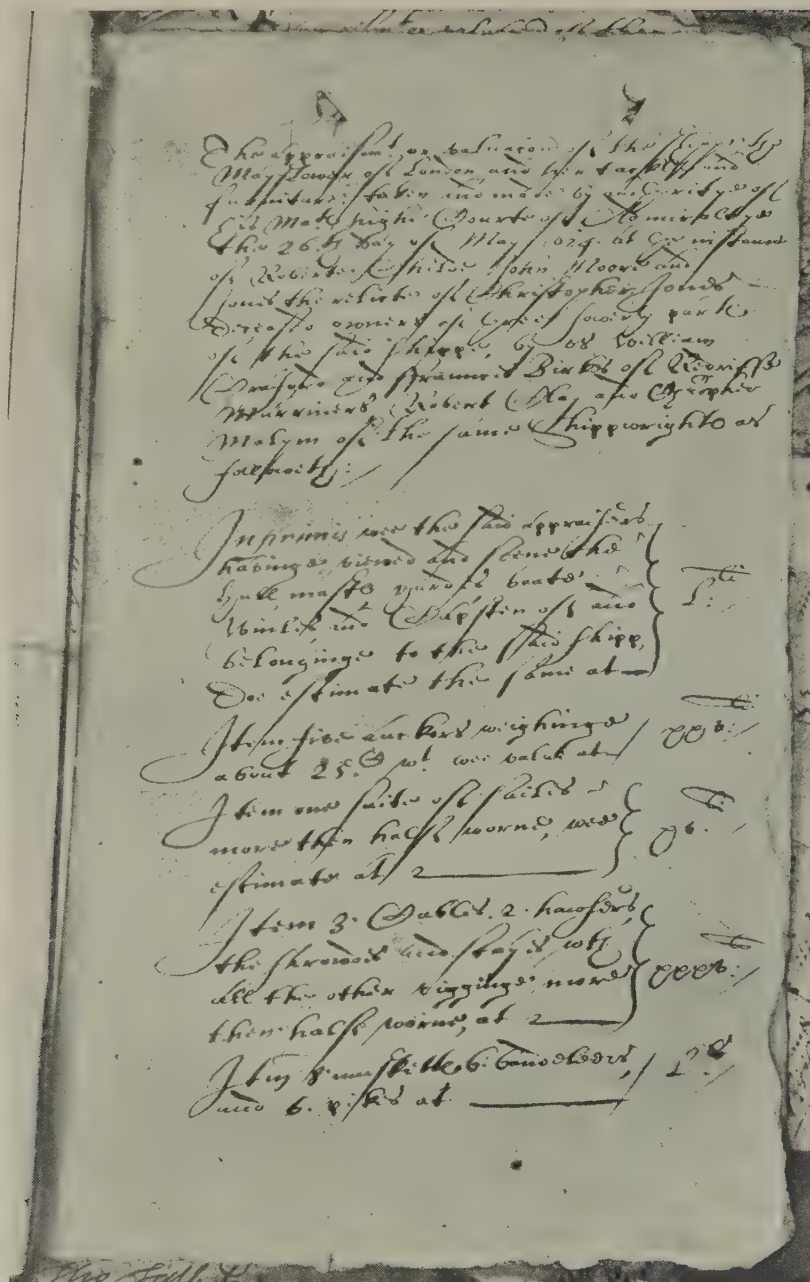
<sup>1</sup> As it was, she brought him Wimpole and £500,000, of which £400,000 is said to have been sacrificed to "indolence, good nature and want of worldly wisdom." "Habitual indolence" kept Harley out of public affairs, and he drifted instead into reckless miscellaneous collecting and an all too generous patronage of men of letters. Pope was his 'idol'; Prior died at Wimpole. By 1740 his embarrassments had reached a crisis, and Wimpole was sold to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, in payment of a debt of £100,000. His collection of nearly 8000 manuscripts, etc., was bought for the nation in 1753, and constitutes the famous Harleian collection in the British Museum.





*Copyright, F. H. Crossley, Chester*

A BOSS AT PATRINGTON



The appraisement or valuation of the shippe the Mayflower of London, and her tackles and furniture, taken and made by authoritye of his Majesty's Highe Courte of Admiraltye the 26th day of May 1624, at the instance of Roberte Childe, John Moore and — Jones the relicte of Christopher Jones deceased owners of three fowerth parte of the said shippe, by us William Craiford, and Fraunces Birkes of Redriffe<sup>1</sup> marriners, Robert Clay and Christopher Malyn of the same Shippwrights as followeth:

Inprimis wee the said appraisers having viewed and seene the hull, maste, yarde, boate, winles and capstin of and belonginge to the said shippe, doe estimate the same at li (i.e. £50).

Item five anckers weighing about 25 cwt. wee value at xxv<sup>li</sup> (i.e. £25).

Item one suite of sailes more than halfe worne, wee estimate at xv<sup>li</sup> (i.e. £15).

Item 3 cables, 2 hawsers, the shrowdes and stayes with all the other rigginge more than half worne at xxxv<sup>li</sup> (i.e. £35).

Item 8 muskitte, 6 bandoleers, and 6 pikes at ls (i.e. £2 10s.).

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Rotherhithe.

From the "Mayflower" Tercentenary Souvenirs, No. 1, "The Documents Concerning the Appraisement of the 'Mayflower,'" ed. by J. Rendel Harris (Longmans, Green & Co. 1920)

#### THE LAST APPRAISEMENT OF THE MAYFLOWER

Cf. Figure 2, Plate V, and Chapter IV, p. 191



Item the pitch pott and kettle      xiii<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>

Item ten shovelles      v<sup>s</sup>

Suma totalis

128<sup>li</sup> 08<sup>s</sup> 04<sup>d</sup>

(i.e. £128 8s. 4d.).

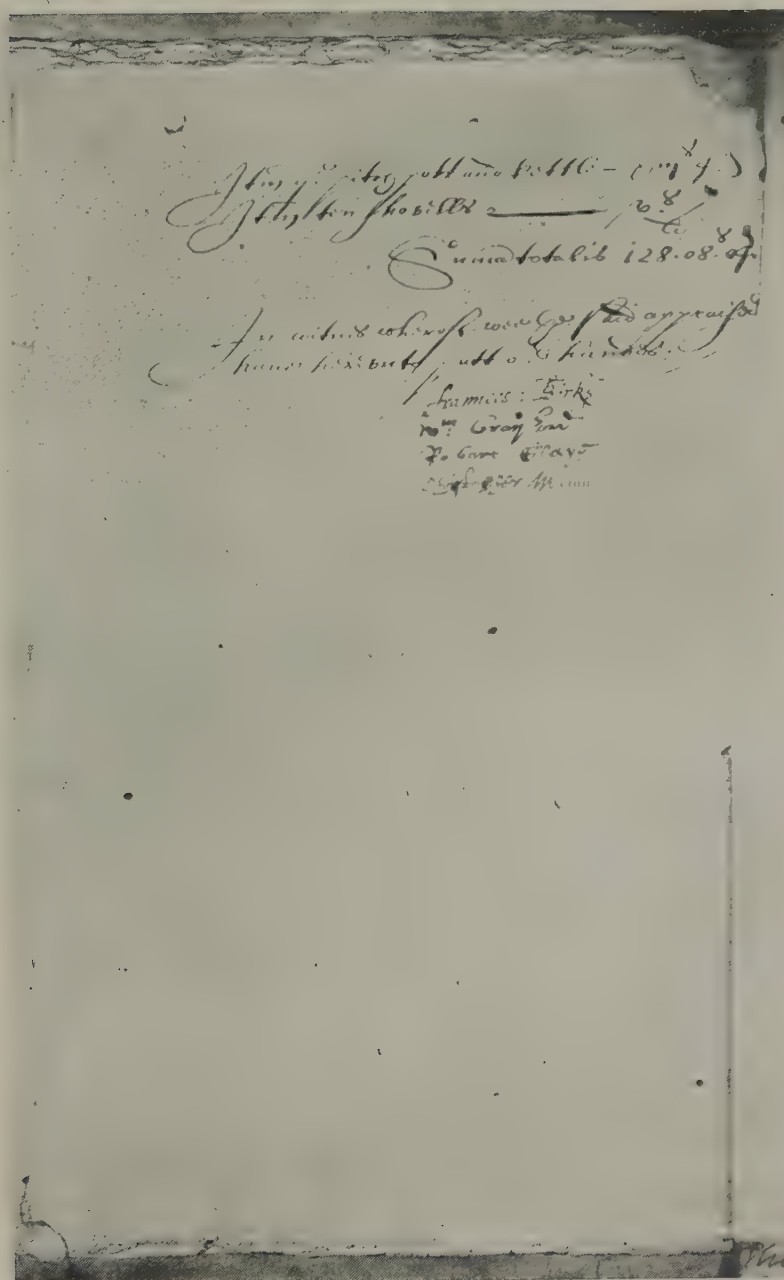
In witnes whereof wee the said appraisers  
have hereunto put to the handes

FRAUNCES BIRKS.

WM. CRAIFORD.

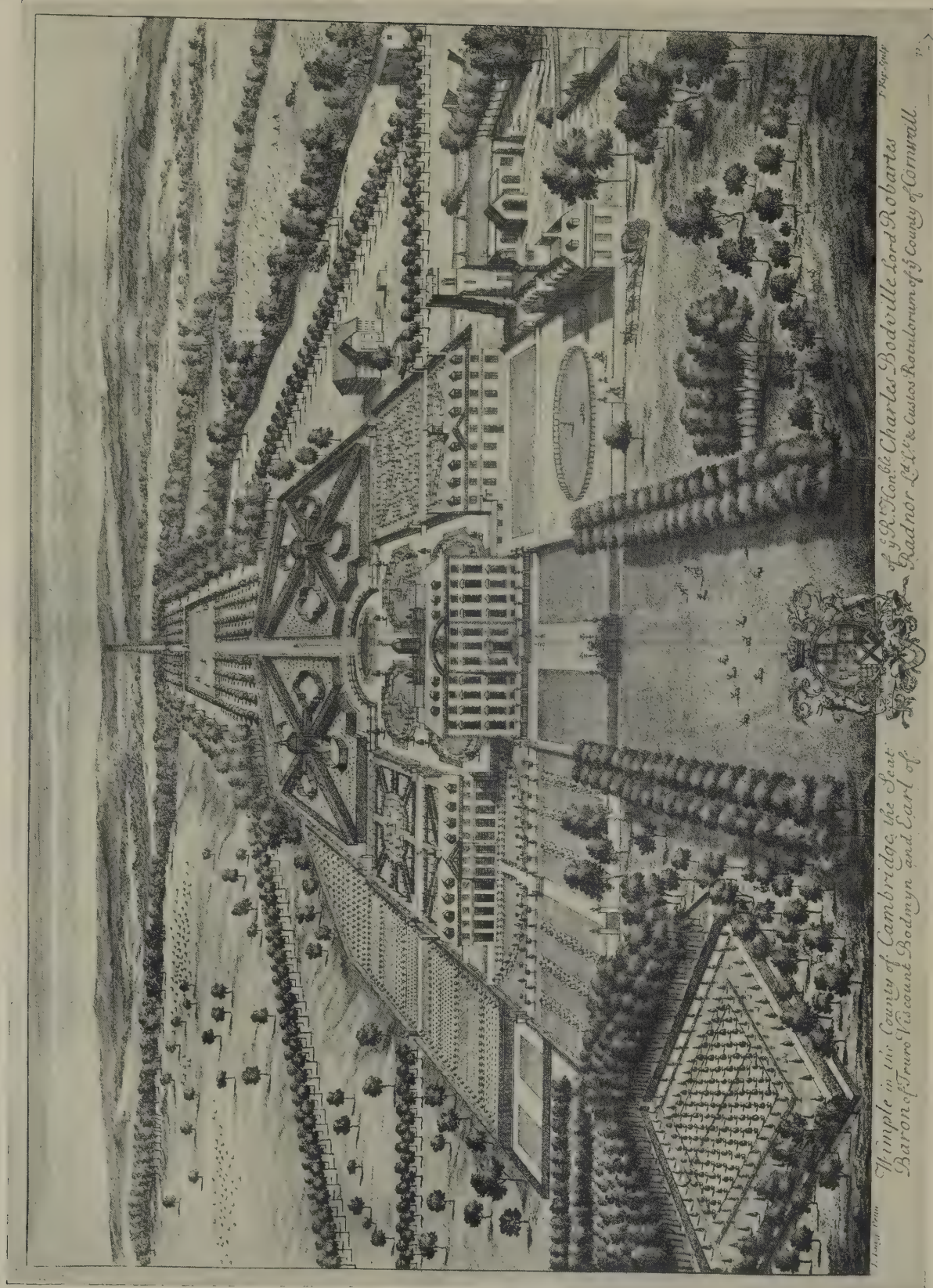
ROBERT CLAYE.

CHRISTOPHER MALIM.



From the "Mayflower" Tercentenary Souvenirs, No. 1, "The Documents Concerning the Appraisement of the 'Mayflower,'" ed. by J. Rendel Harris (Longmans, Green & Co. 1920)

# THE LAST APPRAISEMENT OF THE MAYFLOWER



WIMPOLES HALL AS IT WAS: KIP'S VIEW, 1708



## FORNHAM

The name of the first rector is given as Edmund de Chosele, A.D. 1300; and the first vicar, Thomas Chenée de Dunton, A.D. 1354.

The longest tenure (1836-93) of the incumbency is associated with John Rowland West, Prebendary of Lincoln, in the course of whose ministry the church was restored, the schools built and much else done; in particular, the parish of Wrawby-cum-Brigg was divided in 1872 into the parishes of Wrawby and Glandford Brigg.

There are three bells of exceptionally mellow tone, one having on it the arms of Clare, but with the chevrons and the cross in reversed position.

In the brief space which is all we can allot to benefices acquired, under more prosaic circumstances, within the last two centuries, we may take first those parishes which are within easiest reach of Cambridge.

The living of Great Waldingfield, near Sudbury, in Suffolk, was purchased in 1729 and the first incumbent from Clare was the Rev. Richard Jackson, appointed in 1742. Here also the de Clares possessed some land.

Its special distinctions are the rails in the chancel sittings, and the old oak carvings in the rectory. For these the living is indebted to the Rev. W. P. Baily, B.D., Rector 1858-71 and Chaplain to H.M. Queen Victoria at Hampton Court Palace 1849-58.

The carved woodwork he procured principally from St Michael's, Cornhill—one of Sir Christopher Wren's churches. Happily when Gilbert Scott remodelled St Michael's and the fine wood carving, stated by experts to be the work of Grinling Gibbons, was discarded, a purchaser was on the spot to rescue it from destruction.

The advowson of Fornham<sup>1</sup> All Saints and Westley, near Bury St Edmunds, in Suffolk, was purchased by the College in 1736. Richard FitzGilbert de Clare possessed land and a church at Westley. The present church is a modern building. The church at Fornham illustrates each stage of ecclesiastical architecture<sup>2</sup>.

The chancel is a good example of the Dec. style: the E. window with reticulated tracery, the window on the S., and the priests' door are particularly worthy of attention. . . . The roof is elaborate but unfinished. The nave is chiefly occupied [*sic*] with fifteenth-century (?) poppy-head pews. . . . The N. aisle is Perp. . . . A Jacobean altar table stands at the E. end. . . . The "Mannock Chapel" now has the appearance of a Perp. transept, but was probably originally a Tudor or Elizabethan pew with oak panelling and an oak-transomed window.

Beneath the east window there is the grave of Dame Henrietta Maria Cornwallis.

Charles Lamb's adopted daughter, Miss Emma Isola, was governess to Grace Clare and Maria Josephene, the younger daughters of the Rev. J. H. W. Williams,

<sup>1</sup> The homestead of *Forna* or *Forne* (cf. Scandinavian *forni*, "old one").

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Suffolk: The Little Guides*. The description of the church was contributed by Dr C. L. Feltoe, sometime rector and late Fellow of Clare College.

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

Rector of Fornham and sometime Fellow and Tutor of Clare Hall, whose father, son and two great-grandsons were also at Clare.

Lamb spent some time at Fornham as the guest of the rector and wrote several acrostics and other verses on the household, which Canon Ainger gives in his *Life*. There is a tradition that the decorum of the rectory household suffered by reason of Lamb's affection for the inn at Fornham known as the "Three Kings."

The advowson of Brington-cum-Old Weston and Bythorn, near Little Gidding, was purchased in 1736. The three churches all have beautiful spires and are situated in a district (being on the Northamptonshire border of Huntingdonshire) noted for its church spires.

Hardingham, in Norfolk, was the last advowson but one to be acquired before the Act of Parliament, for the time, stopped the purchase of advowsons.

Two of the rectors were men of considerable learning and distinction, viz. Rev. William Green, an eminent Hebraist, and the Rev. Walter Whiter.

Walter Whiter (1758-1832) was born at Birmingham, and admitted to Clare Hall as sizar in 1776; B.A. 1781, M.A. 1784. He was elected a Fellow of Clare in 1782, probably, on account of his reputation for classics and philosophy. While at Clare from 1782-97 he was an intimate of Porson, "who often wrote on the margin of Whiter's books." The friendship recalls that between Laughton, of Clare, and Cambridge's other leading classical genius, Bentley.

Whiter was presented to Hardingham in 1797, and held the living for thirty-five years, till his death. We quote the following from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, to which we are indebted for much of the information here selected therefrom—"His sense of clerical decorum was the reverse of strict. Baron Merian, in a letter to Dr Samuel Butler of Shrewsbury School [whose grandson, the eminent satirical discoverer of *Erewhon*, would surely have rejoiced], writes: 'I pity Whiter, a great etymologist, perhaps the greatest that ever lived, but, it seems, like most eminent artists, dissolute.'" This stricture must surely refer to some more heinous offence than that of annually summoning his friends to a picnic, "under a beach on a hillock called St George's Mount" on 23rd April, the day of St George, Hardingham's tutelary saint—unless, indeed, the poems expected from each person present on this occasion were sometimes more flagrant than Whiter's specimen given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1816.

Whiter was commemorated by a railed-in tomb in Hardingham churchyard, a bust in the College Library, and his immensely entitled works. In the preface of his *Etymologicum Magnum* "he enlarged on the value of the gipsy language," his views and his "word-speculations" so interesting George Borrow that the latter,



## DATCHWORTH

after making his acquaintance, introduced Whiter, as understanding some twenty languages, into *Lavengro*. In the preface to his *Etymologicum Universale, or Universal Etymological Dictionary on a New Plan*, Whiter explained that "consonants are alone to be regarded in discovering the affinities of words, and that the vowels are to be wholly rejected; that languages contain the same fundamental idea, and that they are derived from the earth." In *A Dissertation on the Disorder of Death, or that State called Suspended Animation*, a title that would seem to wither Mortality as if through a lorgnette, Whiter "tried to shew how the apparently dead should be treated with a view to their restoration to life." Various of his MSS are preserved in the University Library.

Passing now south of Cambridge, we come to Datchworth, near Stevenage, in Hertfordshire, whose benefice has been in the possession of the College for just two centuries.

The manor was for a short time, through his marriage to Hawise de Lanvaley, in the possession of John, son of the famous Hubert de Burgh. Later a moiety of the manor passed to Audrey, wife of Charles, third Viscount Townshend, on the death of her father, Edward Harrison.

When John de Burgh granted his manor of Datchworth to Gilbert de Wanton, he retained the advowson of the church with his manor of Walkern, and from that date the advowson followed the same descent as the manor until 1725, when William Capel, Earl of Essex, sold it. A few months later it was resold to William Greaves, Fellow of Clare Hall, who conveyed it to the College shortly afterwards.

The church, which is on high ground 400 feet above sea-level, has a spire that is a landmark for miles around. It is built at the south-east part of an enclosure of about eight acres, bounded originally by a shallow moat in the form of a Greek theta ( $\theta$ ), the other half of which enclosed the bury or manor (formerly held by the Abbot of Westminster). The building-material is rubble stone, probably hand-picked from the fields, and used without the devices of builders for insuring strength and durability. The original church was perhaps built, in fact, by the people themselves. It has some Norman portions, some good stained glass windows in the chancel, and a founder's tomb of about 1350 with a floriated cross.

In 1876 a clock was added to the tower in memory of the Rev. W. Williamson, with chimes to five of the six bells.

The following note has been supplied by Mr E. Alfred Jones:

The Communion cup and paten cover are of the year 1569-70, but are not of conspicuous interest. They are of the conventional form adopted throughout England and Wales, with slight modifications in shape, during the reign of Elizabeth, in response to the "visitations" of Archbishop Parker, of Canterbury, in 1569—"whether they do minister in any profane cuppes, books, dishes or chalices heretofore used at Masse; or else in a decent Communion cuppe, provided and kept for that purpose."

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

The pre-Reformation chalices were small, but when the ancient right of the laity to be communicated with the Cup was restored, the old chalices were generally superseded by vessels to hold more. In some cases the older chalices were sold, in others beaten out into bigger cups. The change was made gradually, over sections of the country. Hertfordshire's date was about 1570, for there are several chalices in the county of about that date.

Though now known as All Saints, the church was, judging by the orientation, etc., dedicated formerly to St Mary Magdalene. At the Reformation, dedications to female saints, and to this one particularly, were changed to that of All Saints.

In the rectory house it is still possible to trace the building described in a *terrier* of 1610, preserved in the register.

The advowson of Orcheston St Mary, Wilts, was purchased in 1718. The living became vacant in 1735, and George Watts, who had been elected a Fellow in 1722, was the first incumbent presented by the College. Admired as a preacher, he was appointed Master of the Temple in 1771, only to die the following year.

Orcheston, nearly in the middle of Salisbury Plain, and five miles from Stonehenge, was till recently as remote a spot as could well be found in England<sup>1</sup>. The selection of its rector as Master of the Temple shews the esteem in which his preaching was held.

An interesting account of the parish is given in the *British Magazine* of March 1836.

From this it appears that the church was then in a very dilapidated condition; thanks to this and the rising springs of water in winter time, the officiating minister had not only to wear clogs within the church, but also to protect himself from wind and drifting snow. No doubt the congregation must have done likewise, and the spectacle in church of a clergyman in clogs, preaching, under cover of an umbrella, to a congregation similarly equipped, must have been somewhat diverting.

The advowson of Ockley, in Surrey, was purchased for £1000 in 1724. Ockley was an ancient possession, with a castle, of the de Clares, whose estates in Surrey were so numerous that William de Warenne was given others in that county by way of counterpoise. Ockley lies close to Leith Hill, and Stane Street runs through the whole length of the parish. Within its borders there are some exceptionally fine old farm-houses.

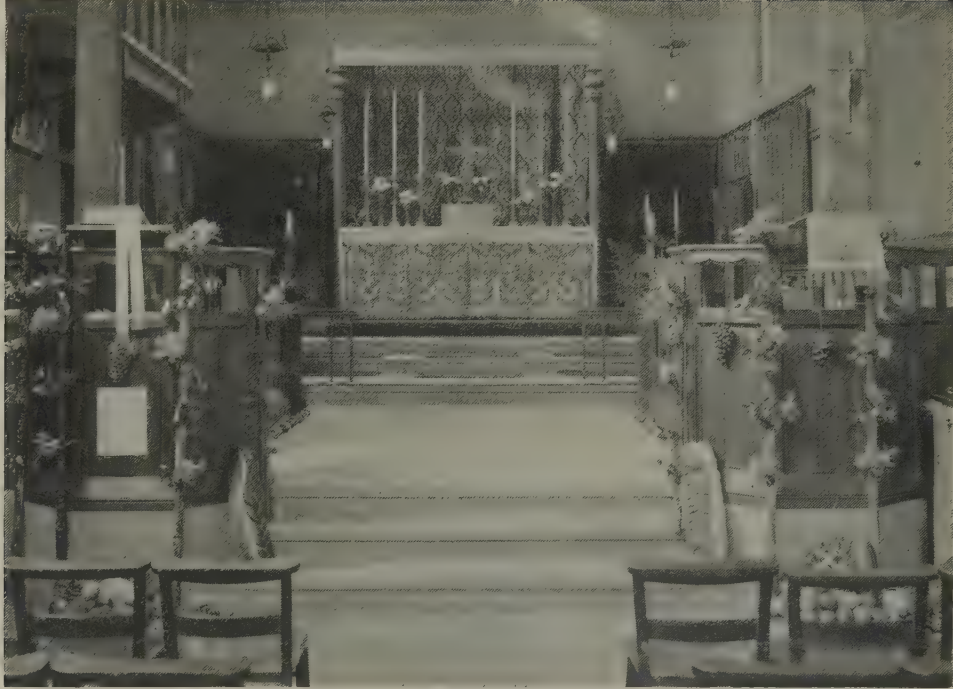
<sup>1</sup> The presence of a stone altar in the church would seem to indicate that contemporary history made little impression there.





CAMBRIDGESHIRE, FROM JANSSEN'S MAP

Printed at Amsterdam in 1646-7



CHANCEL AND ALTAR, CLARE COLLEGE MISSION CHURCH



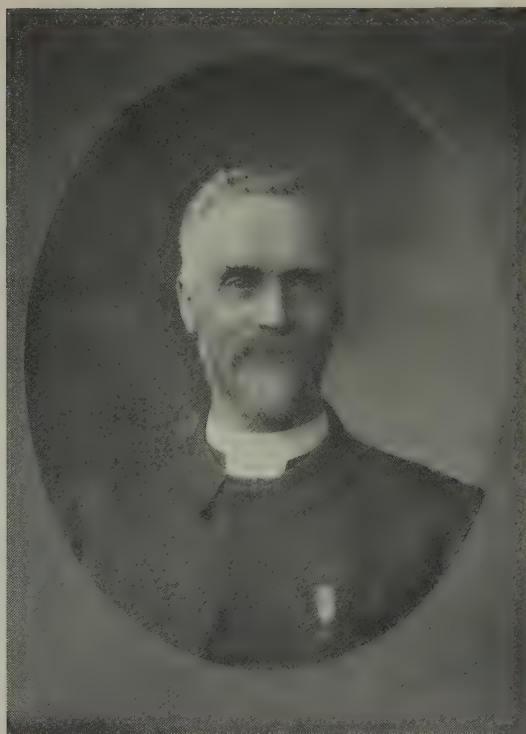
*From the Etching by J. M. Whistler*

ROTHERHITHE REACH





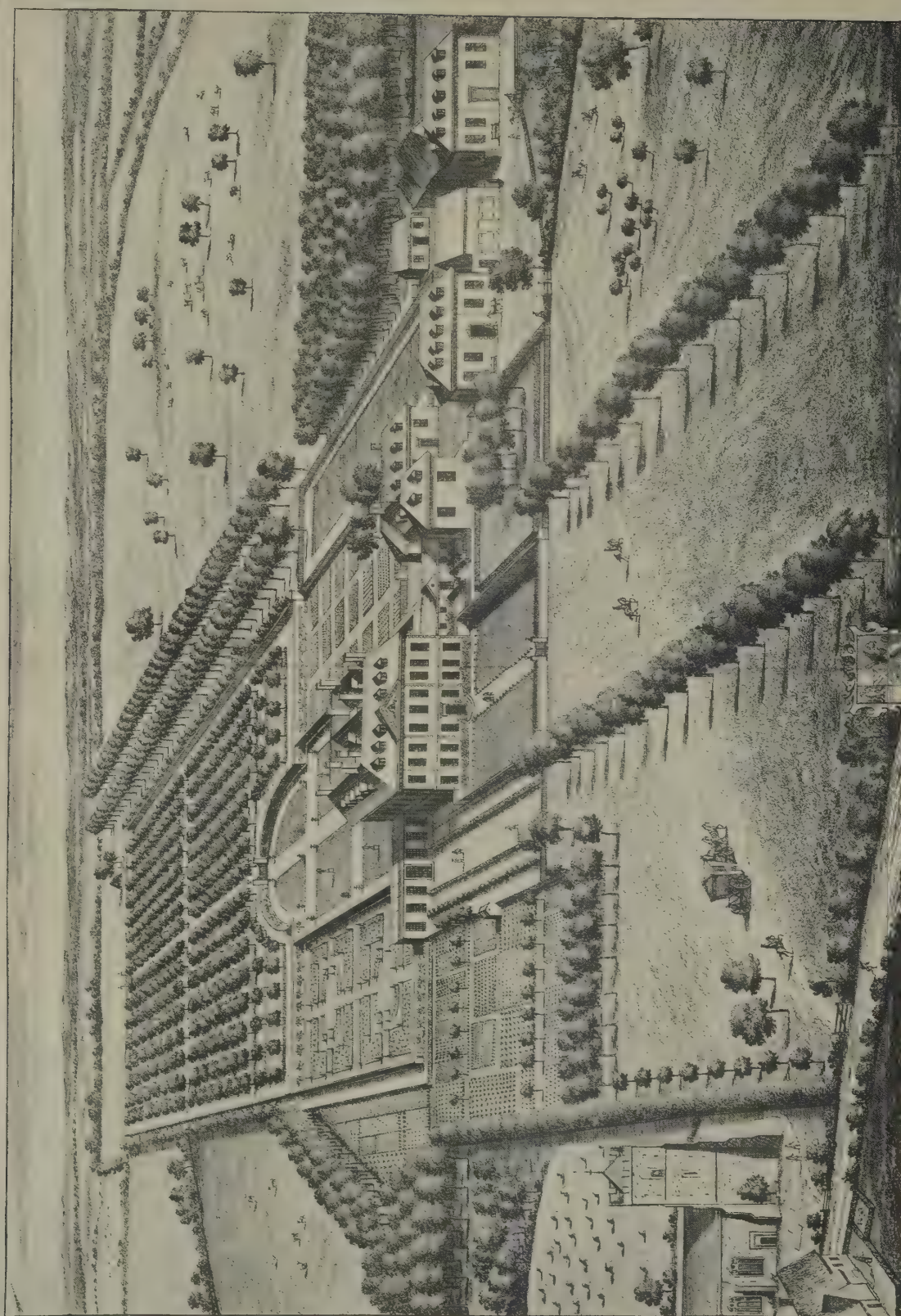
THE LATE EDWARD JOSSELYN BECK  
Rector of Rotherhithe, Canon of Ely  
Author of *A History of Rotherhithe*



THE LATE REV. ARTHUR JOHN EDMUNDS  
Vicar of Great Gransden  
Author of *A History of Great Gransden*  
Cf. Chapter VIII



*Phot. Langdon Davies*



Matvey S. George, the Seat of the Hon. S. Robert Cotton in Cambridgeshire.



## DE CLARE ESTATES IN DOMESDAY BOOK

In passing from its advowsons to review the history of the College estates<sup>1</sup>, we may fittingly interpolate, since so much of the matter in both cases is local, a complete rendering from Evelyn-White's *Domesday Book, Cambridgeshire*, of the Domesday summary, here reproduced, of the eleventh century estates in Cambridgeshire of Richard, son of Gilbert de Clare.

### TERRA RICARDI FILII GISLEBERTI COMITIS

#### IN PAPEWORD HUNDRETO

Ricardus filius Gisleberti comitis tenet in Papeuorde j virgata[m] terrae et Willelmus de eo. Terra est iiij bobus et pratum totidem bobus. Valet iiij solidos; quando recepit, v solidos; Tempore Regis Edwardi, viij solidos. Hanc terram tenuit Aluricus presbyter de abbate de Ely, et ab eo recedere non potuit. Soca etiam semper in ecclesia jacuit. Hanc terram Ricardus super regem occupavit et de ea xx solidos pecuniae accepit.

#### IN CILDEFORD HUNDRETO

In Horsei tenet Wlueua dimidiam virgata[m] de Ricardo. Terra est iiij bobus. Valet et valuit v solidos. In Witcheham tenet Wlueua de Ricardo dimidiam virgata[m] et valet v solidos; et unus sochemannus iiij<sup>tam</sup> partem j virgatae, et valet xij denarios.

#### IN ERNINGFORD HUNDRETO

In Wadune tenet Harduinus de Ricardo j virgata[m] terrae. Terra est iiij bobus. Valet et valuit v solidos; Tempore Regis Edwardi xv solidos. Hanc terram tenuit Sageua sub Eddeua<sup>2</sup> pulcra, et potuit dare cui voluit. Haec non pertinuit ad antecessores Ricardi nec unquam de ea saisitus fuit, sed Radulfus Waders eam tenebat die quo contra regem deliquit.

#### IN PAPWORTH HUNDRED

Richard, the son of Earl Gilbert, holds, and William of him, one virgate of land in Papworth. There is land to four oxen; and meadow for as many oxen. It is worth four shillings; when received, five shillings; T. R. E. eight shillings. Aluric, a priest, held this land of the Abbot of Ely, and he could not depart from him. The soke likewise always laid in the Church. Richard entered upon this land upon the King, and he took from it cattle worth twenty shillings.

#### IN CLIFFORD HUNDRED

Wlveva holds of Richard half a virgate in Horseheath. There is land to four oxen. It is and was worth five shillings.

Wlveva holds of Richard half a virgate in Wicheham (West Wickham); and it is worth five shillings. And one sokeman holds the fourth part of one virgate; and it is worth twelve pence.

#### IN ARMINGFORD HUNDRED

Harduin holds of Richard one virgate of land in Whaddon. There is land to four oxen. It is and was worth five shillings; T. R. E. fifteen shillings. Sageva held this land under Eddeva the fair, and she could give it to whom she would. This land did not belong to the predecessor of Richard, nor was he ever seized of it; but Ralph Waders held it the day in which he failed in his duty to the King.

<sup>1</sup> The estimation of the relative purchasing power of money in different periods is a complicated and a vexed one, but the interest of much that follows will be greatly enhanced if some comparative scale is borne in mind. Mr G. G. Coulton is of opinion that "if we take necessities only—food, clothing, etc.—we can give some real idea by a scale which I always follow: multiplying by 20 about the year 1200, and by 10 about the year 1500, and roughly adjusting the scale for intermediate dates."

<sup>2</sup> The famous "Lady Godiva."





## THE COLLEGE ESTATES

The College properties with which we are here concerned—houses, lands, tithe and rent-charges—have, in great measure, been the gift of successive benefactors, and are scattered over the country from Lincolnshire in the North to Hampshire in the South, although the greater part is, as might be expected, in the Eastern Counties of England.

The following brief sketch is designed to indicate the sources from which the more important of these pieces of property were acquired; those in Cambridge and the vicinity, as being easily accessible and presumably of special interest, are given with some detail.

An interesting list of the properties of the College about the year 1486 is preserved in our Old Register, the solitary document which survived the disastrous fire in 1521.

The list comprises:

i. The Benefices of Gransden, Litlington, Duxworth (Duxford, St John's) and Wrawby.

These were the gift of our Foundress, and were then leased for £23 (and a boar, valued 6s. 8d.), 40 marks, £12 and £12 respectively. The Rectorial land at Litlington was, at the time, leased for £1. 13s. 4d.; and it is noted that Thomas Stoyll (Master 1466-70) had purchased 24 acres of arable land at Duxford, where the rectorial farm had had none.

ii. Property in Cambridge and Chesterton:  
Borden Hostel.

This was subsequently sold to Ralph Bykardyke (for an account of this property see Chap. IV, pp. 127-8).

Tenement in St Edward's parish.

This tenement was the gift of King Henry VI, in 1446, apparently in exchange for property which the College ceded to him when founding King's College. It is now No. 13 King's Parade

Tenement by the Castle with  $22\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land. This was, no doubt, the "house near the Castle and 20 acres of arable land in the fields of Chesterton and Cambridge," purchased, for £40, about 1466 by William Wilfleet, *ad tunc Magister*.

Two pieces of land in Chesterton, of 36 acres, and — acres, respectively.

Presumably they included the two tenements with their appurtenances, known as "Frankes" and "Lepers," which King Henry VI gave the College in 1446. In 1838 we find mention of Great Frank's close (8 acres) and Hill's close (4 acres);

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

probably the latter is to be identified with Lepers. "Frankes" close and "Hilles" close occur also together as long ago as 1543, in an agreement between the College and the Lord of the Manor of Chesterton.

### iii. Property in Cambridgeshire.

Manor of Lymberyys at Icklyngton (Ickleton), then leased for 12 marks.

This was an estate of 80 acres—apparently purchased about 1456, when we read of a debt to Nicholas Wymbych of 53 marks for the manor of Icklyngton; it is stated that he "claimed 260 marks."

A messuage with 60 acres of land at Arnyngton (Arrington?) and another with 40 acres of land at the same place; at Swacy (Swavesey) a messuage in the market place and 20 acres of land; and a farm at Berton (Barton) of 126 (?) acres, all of which had been purchased by Thomas Stoyll, who appears to have been a most active Master.

A messuage with land at Barrington.

Upon this list we may remark that the property at Barrington (7 acres according to a lease of 1552) no longer belongs to the College, and must have been sold or exchanged; nor can we find any trace of the land at Arrington.

On the other hand the list ignores the Manor of Baldwin's at Great Gransden.

This was an estate of about 108 acres, and appears to have been bequeathed by Richard de Baudewyne in trust for the College to W. Wedrefelde, Vicar of Great Gransden, by whom it was conveyed to John de Harlaton, John de Donewych and Richard de Morden, and by them again (after obtaining, in 1364, a licence in mortmain) to the Master and Fellows.

W. Wedrefelde himself gave an acre of woodland at Gransden, known as the Master's acre, a title it still bears, for the benefit of the Mastership; the date, 28 Sept. 1337, is however manifestly wrong, as mention is made of *Clare Hall*.

It seems possible that the date refers only to Wedrefelde's own gift and that it should be 1373 (the figures having been accidentally transposed); the acquisition of the Manor of Baldwin's must have been soon after the licence had been obtained in 1364, and before Donewych became Master.

We find three or four notices of very early gifts of messuages in Cambridge; these are in this list ignored, and as from the description of their locality it appears that they must have all been in the neighbourhood of the College, we may, with probability, assume that they, with St Austin's hostel which also belonged to Clare, were surrendered to King Henry VI to make room for his new College; he appears to have restored Borden Hostel to us; and perhaps the house on King's Parade and the two tenements in Chesterton were also given to us by him by way of compensation.



## THE COLLEGE ESTATES

Soon after this date, John Tapton, Master of St Catharine's Hall 1479-87 (who had perhaps been originally of Clare), bequeathed to the College lands and tenements in Cambridge and Chesterton to the annual value of £8: the copy of the indenture of his benefaction is dated 12 May 1490.

To this considerable bequest we may with confidence ascribe all the property of the College, not otherwise accounted for, in Cambridge and Chesterton.

In 1874 the College owned:

In Chesterton 101½ acres<sup>1</sup>; in St Giles's parish (including 22½ acres situated in Chesterton)<sup>2</sup> about 49½ acres<sup>3</sup>, and about an acre at Newnham; a house on King's Parade, No. 1 Market Street, No. 33 Green Street, 21 houses in or near Castle Street, 3 in Bridge Street with 6 adjacent houses in Thompson's Lane, a house and brewery (No. 5) Chesterton Road, and a cottage and stable in Ram Yard.

The Ram Yard property was purchased in 1824. Part of the land at Newnham was conveyed by Dr Edmund Natures, executor of Sir William Finderne, to the College in 1529; it adjoined on the east a croft already belonging to Clare.

The increased acreage in land at Chesterton and in St Giles's parish and the various other houses in Cambridge we may reasonably ascribe to Tapton's benefaction.

To turn, now, farther afield. In his will, dated July, 1517, Dr Hornby, Master of Peterhouse, bequeathed to the College a farm, known as Crisp's at Caldecot, Hardwick and Bourn. In 1548 it was let for 26s. 8d., and was therefore of considerable extent. The College property at Caldecot and Bourn is closely bound up with property of the Blithe trust, but in the report to the Commissioners in 1874 the College farm is stated to be 59 acres 2 roods 26 poles, the bulk, if not all, of which was presumably the gift of Dr Hornby.

At the dissolution of the monasteries, the College purchased for £144 the Rectory

<sup>1</sup> This land has now been sold, 15 acres to Messrs Swann in 1911, the rest to the Corporation of Cambridge for the Sewage Farm on the Milton Road.

<sup>2</sup> Probably "The Chesterton Allotment by the Huntingdon Road 22½ acres" in Dr Webb's record, 1838.

<sup>3</sup> The eleven acres "at the back of Clare Hall Piece" (till recently our Cricket and Football Ground) were let with the Castle End Farm till 1824, when they were separated from it and laid down to grass; six acres were let at £4 an acre, and five acres let to the Master.

The ground, on which the Memorial Building is now erected, was laid out as a garden in 1859, and a College order of 11 May 1865 directs that "a farther portion of the land mentioned in the preceding order be laid out for the use of the members of the College as a cricket ground."

In 1876 it was agreed to enlarge the cricket ground, and level it at the expense of the College; and negotiations were opened with King's College for a joint ground. A pavilion was erected jointly by the Clubs of the two Colleges some ten years later.

When the Great War broke out in 1914 this ground was given up for a hospital, and at the end of the War was taken over for temporary housing-accommodation by the Town. The drains which had been laid down there during the War, with the footpaths, etc., had utterly destroyed its utility for games, and the two Colleges were obliged to seek a fresh ground, on the Barton Road.

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

of Everton which had belonged to the Monastery of St Neots<sup>1</sup>,—Walter Worlych, whose widow was subsequently so generous a benefactress, giving £40 towards the purchase price.

This agreement between him and the College is dated 10 September 1543.

The Rectorial and Vicarial lands at Everton and Tetworth comprise about 260 acres; the Vicarial lands were, till the last Blithe accounts, in the hands of the College, which paid a fixed stipend to the Vicar.

One other farm also, of 229 acres, at Dullingham near Newmarket, sold in 1914 by the College, perhaps deserves mention.

It was acquired in 1631—in exchange for Brecknold, a manor and farm at Babraham, leased in 1540 for £6—from Tobie Palavicino, Esq., who, as we learn elsewhere, was Executor to George Ruggle and paid his bequest of £100 to the College, 3 March 1624–5. How the original manor of Brecknold came to the College does not appear.

In 1555 Elizabeth Worlych, widow of Walter Worlych of Potton, Beds, gave the College some 35 acres of land which she had recently purchased, at Charleston, in the parish of Roxton, Beds, for the foundation of a scholarship.

This land (39 acres including land at Eaton Socon) was sold, despite the sentiment attaching to it, in 1920; members of the same family had been tenants of it for over a century.

Three years later (in 1558) the same benefactress left messuages and lands at Gamlingay, which she had purchased for £160; apparently the “College farm,” about 114 acres, at Gamlingay.

The next acquisition was in 1562, when Dr Leeds, Master of the Hospital of St John’s and Mary Magdalene in Ely, and also Master of Clare, procured the conveyance to the College of the property of the Hospital for the maintenance of 10 scholars, “wherein the Colledge tasted of the good and free disposition of their good Ladye Queene Elizabeth, and of the speciall frenshippe of the L. of Cant., his grace, and singulere favour of Sir William Cicell then secretarye to the Queen’s majestie and high Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.”<sup>2</sup>

The property thus obtained was so considerable as fully to justify this warm expression of gratitude.

In the first of the Registers of Leases, etc. (to the year 1604) is entered Dr Leeds’ “Rentall of St John’s in Ely . . . made 28 March 1576.”

<sup>1</sup> The Priory of St Neots was founded by Leofric, Earl of Mercia (an ancestor of Elizabetha, lady de Clare, through the earls of Chester and the de Grays, earls of Lincoln), and refounded by the lady Roisia (Rohaise, Rohesia) de Clare in 1113.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from The Old Register.



## THE COLLEGE ESTATES

It includes St John's Farm (£6. 13s. 4d. a year) and some 35 houses and garden grounds, in Ely; the parsonage (£6. 13s. 4d. a year), a "darye" (£2. 3s. 4d.) and a tenement, at Littleport. Land and two tenements, at Downham; a farm at Wytchford; 5 acres 1 rode of land at Haddenham; land at Doddington and Witcham, and a tenement in Frecher's Street, Cambridge.

By the enclosures act, nearly a century ago, a considerable number of small pieces



ST JOHN'S FARM, ELY

(From the drawing by F. L. Griggs in *Highways and Byways in Cambridgeshire*, by kind permission of Messrs Macmillan & Co. Ltd.)

of land in the fens was awarded to the College, as owners of land and houses in the vicinity; some 70 of these were sold by the College shortly before the war.

From 1600 onwards the College received numerous gifts for the foundation of Fellowships and Scholarships.

About 1600 Ralph Scrivener gave a house, etc. at Ipswich.

In 1612 Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter, and Dorothy, Lady Exeter, gave a rent charge of £108 on lands, etc., at Stamford recently belonging to the dissolved monastery of Peterborough, for the establishment of three Fellowships and eight scholarships.

In 1622 the College lands at Risby and Tetney, Lincs, were given us in lieu of £2000 bequeathed by John Freeman, Esq., of Great Billing, Northants, by his Executors, Edward, Lord Gorges, Baron Dundalk, and his wife Catherine, daughter and heiress of John Freeman. The farm at Tetney (about 79 acres) was sold in 1920.

In 1636 John Borage of North Barsham, Norfolk, gave a rent charge of £15 a year for a Bye-Fellowship for natives of Norfolk (this was redeemed by Lord Orford in 1910).

About 1650 a rent charge of £3. 6s. 8d. upon land at Brantingthorpe, Leics. was given by William Marshall. This was sold in 1920.

By his will, dated 26 Dec. 1657, land at Lisse (Wheatham Farm, 114 acres), 23 acres at Braintree, and copyhold land at Mile-End, Stepney, were bequeathed by Joseph Diggons.

## ADVOWSONS AND ESTATES

(14 acres more at Braintree were purchased in 1819 for £850; £890 had been received from the sale of materials from old houses on the estate which had been pulled down.)

By his will, dated 11 Sept. 1680, Thomas Philpott bequeathed lands and tenements at Eltham and Foots Cray for the foundation of Bye-Fellowships, for natives of Kent. The Philpott almshouses are a familiar feature of Eltham.

Part of this (7 acres) has recently been disposed of for the Garden City at Eltham, and about 13 acres are now being purchased from the College by Standard Telephones and Cables, Ltd.

In 1708 Thomas Pyke of Cambridge left by will the White Horse Inn, in St Bene't's Parish, Cambridge, for a scholarship. This was parted with to King's College in 1823, when the river garden was finally ceded, by exchange of properties, to Clare.

In 1724 an estate near Calne, Wilts, was left by the Rev. John Wilson to found a scholarship.

This was sold (in 1764) to Lord Shelburne, and the proceeds (£1074) together with the money left by Dr Greene to found scholarships invested, in 1819, in part of the purchase money of the Manor of Mowbrays at Ickleton (160 acres).

In 1760 a rent charge of £20 a year on land at Colgrave, Hants, was given by Lady Russell for a scholarship, in memory of Sir John Trott, her first husband.

In 1783 the Rev. Gilbert Bouchery bequeathed the reversion of an estate (32 acres) in Romney Marsh, Kent, for the augmentation of Fellowships on the Exeter and Diggon's foundations. This estate accrued to the College in 1810.

In 1846 a house and shop at Scarborough, left by the Rev. M. A. Stephenson in 1790, finally came into the possession of the College after the death of Lucy Harding, who had a life interest in it.

Lastly in 1869 property at Hull was given by Dr Anthony Owst Atkinson and Mrs Mary Taylor for the establishment of a prize—the Owst prize.

Apart from these benefactions for the founding of Scholarships and Fellowships, we have to mention two gifts of land.

Dr Theophilus Dillingham (Master 1654–60 and 1661–78) left about 21 acres in the parishes of Girton, Impington and Madingley, in trust for the purchase of books for the Library (see College order 22 April 1772).

Dr Blithe (who succeeded Dr Dillingham as Master) bought two closes (about 5 acres) at Foxton, the rents of which were to be expended in the purchase of theological books for the Library.

The College owned for many years a farm at Owstwicke, Yorks, purchased with



## THE COLLEGE ESTATES

money left for the foundation of an exhibition by Rev. Alexander Metcalfe, by will dated 29 May 1680; this farm was sold a few years ago.

We may summarize as follows the College revenues deriving from landed property:

### *Agricultural Property*

The greater part of the College Agricultural Estates is situated in the two counties of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, the areas respectively being about 1420 acres and 1050 acres.

Smaller properties of total area of about 290 acres are situated in Suffolk, Kent and Hampshire.

The total gross rentals received from these estates amount now to about £2600.

### *Town Properties and Rack Rent*

These are situated at Brigg, Cambridge, Ely, Ipswich and Scarborough, and the total rack rents amount to about £3000 per annum.

### *Leasehold Property*

Apart from some smaller properties the more important leaseholds are at Stepney in London and Sidcup in Kent, and the annual income received from them is £2168.

### *Tithe*

The College owns tithe in Duxford, Great Gransden, Litlington, Littleport and Tetworth of a total apportioned value of about £1665.

Other receipts from land comprise certain rent charges, the total income from which amounts only to about £120.







*Sydney W. Carline del. 1925*

OLD COURT, FROM N.W. CORNER OF PARAPET



PETERHOUSE TO CLARE  
The road approach

*Copyright Aerofilms, Ltd.*





*Copyright Aerofilms, Ltd.*

PETERHOUSE TO CLARE  
The river approach



*Phot. Clemmelt, circa 1890*

CLARE AND KING'S FROM THE S.W.



### CHAPTER III

## OLD COURT OF CLARE AS A WORK OF ARCHITECTURE





## OLD COURT OF CLARE AS A WORK OF ARCHITECTURE

At first unmarked but to the steady gazer's eye  
Rising in luminous bulk.

Translated by ARTHUR WALEY from  
the Chinese of WANG YEN SHOU.

Perhaps no single quadrangle makes a wider or more varied appeal than does Old Court of Clare. It holds something for every level and kind of appreciation: its unified yet changeful form telling of architectural evolution, its age and its associations all combine to give it prestige and to inspire affection. Such a building provides ample scope for the critic and historian, the more so that its records are exceptionally complete. What is lacking is a critical method that is valid and generally accepted: what is embarrassing is the variety of methods of architectural criticism adopted in the past and the number of aspects in which a building presents itself.

Clare's Old Court one may think of as a work of art, a piece of history, a practical arrangement of spaces in which to work, sleep, eat and worship—all of these in the same conception. We may hold its image in the mind and see it small, compact like a glass beehive with human activities proceeding within it, or again we find it massive, permanent and dominating our small and temporary selves. Now its image is ethereal in substance, dreamlike, coloured by our fancy, now of the earth earthy, damp at base, subject to decay, tiresome in its imperfection. Or again it seems irretrievably blurred and soiled by the fog of undiscerning praise that collects round the "quaint," the "antique." To some (a dwindling company) its changing styles show Gothic freedom and piety gradually overcome by the licences and falsity of the Renaissance, to others they speak of the rise of the architecture of humanism.

Any or all of those and a multitude of other aspects of buildings and of our attitudes to them are reflected and stressed in architectural description and criticism, and these, in their turn, adopt both the emotive and the scientific uses of language<sup>1</sup>.

But a gradual emergence of generally accepted criteria, common to all the arts, is taking place and an attempt will here be made to set down the architectural values of Clare in non-technical language and to arrange them in such a way as to provide a basis for the fuller appreciation which each individual may bring to bear upon it. These values may be conveniently classified under the heads of

- (a) direct communication values,
- (b) indirect or reference values,

<sup>1</sup> "A statement may be used for the sake of the *reference*, true or false, which it causes. This is the scientific use of language. But it may also be used for the sake of the effects in emotion and attitude produced by the reference it occasions."

I. A. RICHARDS, *Principles of Literary Criticism*.

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The first group includes those values communicated by the building as an architectural work, as form. They are the essential values from the standpoint of aesthetics, and determine, though we may not know it, the quality of our response.

The second group includes values that arise from references associated with ideas historical, cultural, etc., occasioned by contemplation of the building, and it also includes such functional and structural values as are incapable of direct communication through form.

While it is desirable to attempt to determine the nature and origin of all these values, it is neither possible nor desirable to study them in watertight compartments. For example many ideas that are in their origin historical or cultural are so wedded to form, and especially to architectural forms, that they have become an inseparable part of the significance of these forms, while the greater part of the functional and structural values of such a building as Clare are probably capable of direct communication. In spite, however, of such overlapping, the two groups are clearly enough defined to be considered separately, under the sections headed respectively Appearance and History.

### I. APPEARANCE

Standing in King's avenue, a little westward of the bridge, one obtains the most popular and at the same time characteristic picture of Clare—so popular indeed, that the eye is apt to dwell on it without active awareness. So seen, intrinsic character is bound to elude, and with it is lost the sense of movement (nowhere so evident as from here) which, once perceived, endows the structure with a quality of surprise, as it were in perpetuity. The image thus formed in the mind is that of a hollow square, halted in its march towards the river by the buttressed west front, whose pilasters seem to lean back to meet the pressure<sup>1</sup>. Sentinel chimneys above are carried gaily and without effort by the close textured mass; they weight down the even grey roof whose obvious narrowness keeps before us the sense of an internal court and suggests the collegiate building with its strictly measured spaces.

Halted the main body of Clare may be, but it is not cut off from the river, for, seen still from the King's bridge region, Clare bridge is obviously an outpost of its College. The connection between them is rendered only the more dramatic by their separation by the heavy mass of trees. It is felt to continue behind them, and the arches and ramped outline of the bridge add a sense of security against the main

<sup>1</sup> Entasis or upward diminution is frequently given to pilasters, but in this case the setting back in the various vertical stages is very marked and it is further accentuated by the verticality of the south front.



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building sliding down the easy slope to the river. (How much the Cam owes to its bridges! Their bows press apart the close banks as well as unite them, and their small scale enhances its dignity.) Calm spaces of green turf emphasize the pattern and colour of the façades, the rounded forms and close, tapestried texture of the trees enhance in contrast their hard and linear crispness, while the adjacent buildings of King's College join with them to compose a picture of the most enchanting kind.

A building is often conceived as such a picture or series of pictures, and to many its aesthetic value ends there. But it is obvious that this value is a strangely fluctuating one, depending on such accidental effects as those of atmosphere. It is a still less reliable indication of the merits of buildings generally, for it is of common note that a bad building is more apt than is a good one to provide a "subject" for the painter, who, intent upon pictorial qualities, rightly disregards others. More comprehensive and fruitful is the sculpturesque view which regards a building as an organization of solid forms, and looked at in this way some works of architecture reveal the greater part of their aesthetic content. Such are Egyptian monuments and temples; and the evolution of building from Karnak to Santa Sophia is largely the emergence of a third and more comprehensive vision of architecture—the art of organizing space by enclosure with solid forms. Such a conception as much increases the range and complexity of the appreciation of architecture as it does of its design. The solids that bound spaces need lose nothing of their sculptural quality nor need the mass be less of a "picture." On the contrary these gain in meaning, and the mind experiences a sense of liberation from preconception. It can regard without contempt the thin and plastic shell of a reinforced concrete building and find that structure good or bad for its inherent qualities, not for its likeness or unlikeness to older works whose walls were built of cut stone.

So considered Clare College will read as a group of fully enclosed spaces arranged round another. This last, the quadrangle, being by much the largest is the dominant note of the whole composition. For it is of a size that, though open to the sky, is still felt to be enclosed. The Patio of a Spanish house is generally small enough actually to be coverable by a velarium (a movable textile ceiling) and is thus in its fullest sense the principal apartment, but larger quadrangles may, and often do, lose this particular attractiveness and are no longer spaces enclosed in a building but spaces bounded by buildings. Taken in relation to the height of its walls Clare quadrangle seems as large as it well could be without losing this chief attribute of being part of the building. Standing therein one is conscious of an outside life—visible yet cut off—prohibited from entering. The tall mass of King's College chapel

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From the French engraving after Loggan's view

is seen to be close at hand ready, as it were, to advance<sup>1</sup>, and the low tunnel-like openings of the east and west Gateway at once increase this cloisteral effect and liberate the mind from any suspicion of being immured. The quadrangle seems in fact to give expression to the English collegiate system.

Here too, a fresh conception of the building becomes evident. The general sym-

<sup>1</sup> In Mr S. W. Carline's drawing, the viewpoint was carefully chosen as one from which the relationship of King's Chapel to Clare quadrangle attains a maximum architectural significance. Here the spatial volume of the quadrangle is fully realized in the same *coup d'œil* as apprehends the solid mass and range of the Chapel, and the respective dimensions, from here, being sufficiently similar, the architectural connection of the two buildings is immediately and *substantially* intensified.

Such accesses of mutual relation are generally capable of being expressed in metaphor, and often insist on being so rendered. So, from the region of parapet level in its north-west corner, Clare quadrangle figures not merely as a vessel but as a vessel with an allocated function—as, in fancy's fact, a form of luxurious enclosure or pen for a superb breed of architectural beast. That this pen would not be nearly large enough is evident from our closest aerial photograph; but from Mr Carline's viewpoint the perspective maintains in the beholder the tantalizing predicament—"Yes (the courtyard *was* made for the Chapel), but will it (the chapel) fit?"—ED.



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metry of the arrangement gives place to an underlying asymmetry. The communal quarters which form the north side of the quadrangle and with the chapel advance beyond it to the east, are seen to be, in fact, the base of a composition which is completed by the other three sides. In this connection the aesthetic value which derives from the projecting Chapel is considerable. It gives a clue to and reinforces this non-symmetrical basis of the design, and a little prepares us for finding the seeming symmetry of the quadrangle upset by the north side with its greater scale and weightier intention. Quite clearly this north range expresses something more important than the others. The wider bays divided into two stories instead of three, and their irregular division—six unequal bays on the west side of the doorway and four large and one small on the east—all testify to spaces within less easily drilled into regularity than small rooms. And the exquisitely buoyant lantern blown like a bubble from the roof with its more sober neighbour at the north-east angle complete the impression. They speak more clearly of the interior than the physically larger tower-like heightenings over the two gateways, but those in turn call attention to an odd feature of the planning. What seems to be the main axis passes through nothing. An absent minded person, hypnotized by the long pathway that tunnels straight through the ranges and undulates over the bridge, might find himself outside the gates before awaking to the fact that he had missed the college. This is rather a misuse of axial lines. "A mark is not set up with the object of missing it," says Epictetus, and an axis, to have meaning, must lead up to something unless the "way" is more important than the "thing." Here it is not so, and the letting it seem so is a weakness in the lay-out.

In the completed building, volumes and surfaces are the first things to be apprehended—the plan exists only as one of many arbitrary sections through the mass. This section, however, which we call "plan," has properties in building as distinct from plastic design of any other sort, by its special relation to the surface of the earth. This may be less certainly the case at the present day or in the future, when structural science can and may to some extent override the necessity of the weight of structures being taken directly to earth. But such possibilities scarcely affect buildings erected up to the present day, and the ground plan is therefore the generator of nearly all the forms used in building.

Another important aspect of the plan is that through it there comes to us most clearly the image of that ordered existence which gave rise to the building, so that the buildings of a period become the mirror of the whole life of the period. Two sets of values are to be looked for in Clare in its aspect of reflector. The level of social and cultural existence of the whole epoch, and more narrowly that of the designers and of the body for which the building was designed, is one such set;

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the degree of satisfactoriness with which that existence is provided for and expressed is the other.

A tradition of fine building belongs only to social organizations with a settled and ordered existence: hence the pre-eminence of ecclesiastical buildings in the middle ages. The development of collegiate bodies came later, and these gradually became more secularized, but, in England at least, their culture and requirements had so much in common with those of monastic bodies that college buildings inherited some of the traditions and many of the features of monasteries.

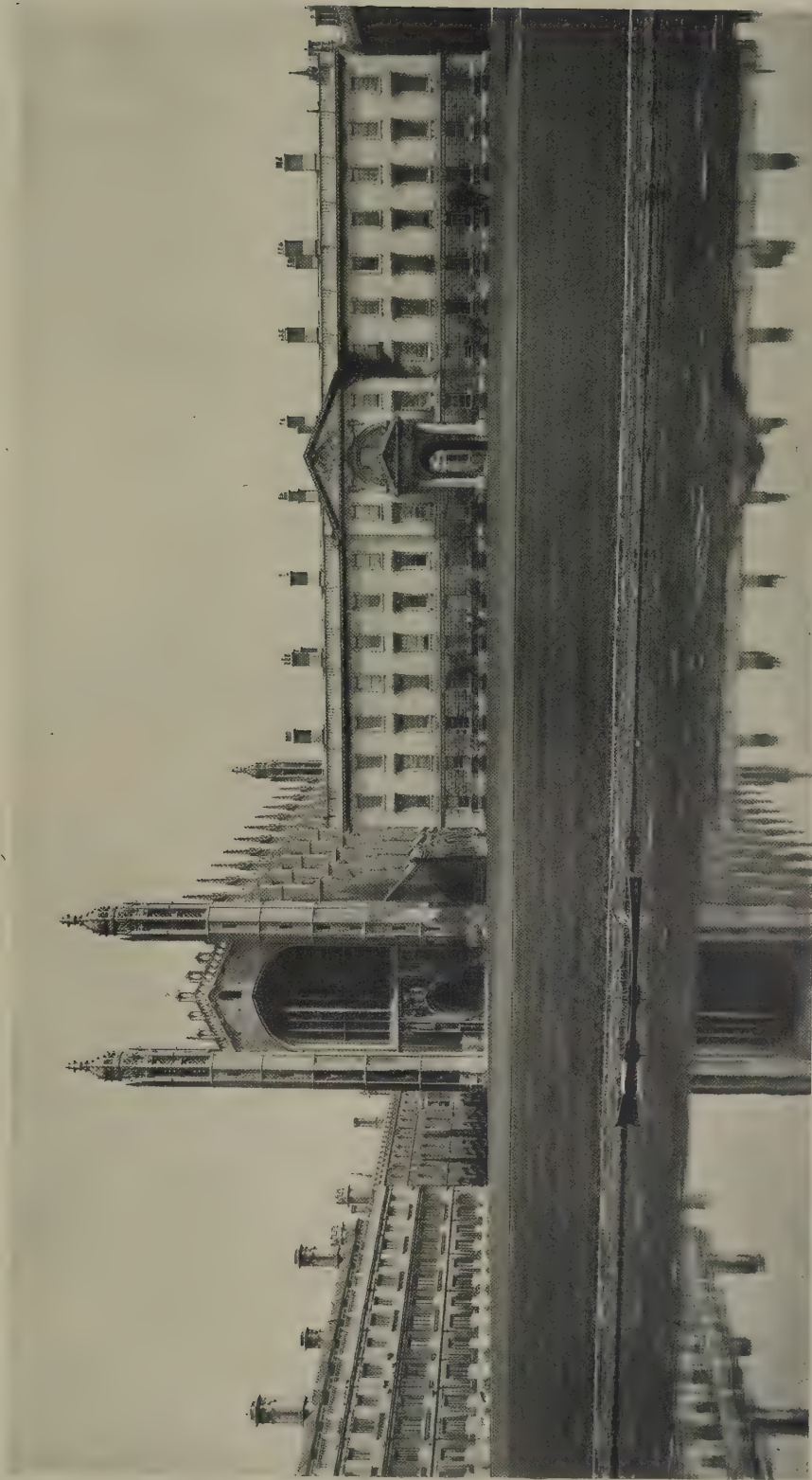
It has been argued that the typical Cambridge College plan derived from that of the great feudal houses such as Haddon Hall<sup>1</sup>, rather than from monastic institutions. This may well be the case; but the borrowing, from whatever source, was limited by a very exact idea of the requirements of each College community with its mingling of communal and private life, its clearly defined hierarchy of rank from the Master down to the servants, its dignity and aloofness as well as its part in national and ecclesiastical affairs.

By the seventeenth century when the rebuilding of Clare was undertaken, there was a sufficient number of plan types for any body to select from and adapt to its site and special requirements, and it is safe to assume that the existing colleges at Cambridge were the chief sources of inspiration for the new work. Clare then existed as a quadrangular building, and the colleges of Corpus Christi and St John's had been thus completed in the previous century; so that, in spite of the reasoned objection of Dr Caius (on the score of hygiene) to completely enclosed courts, the new college adhered to the old arrangement. More than a century elapsed between the commencement and the completion of the buildings, during which time the resources of architectural technique were increasing by great leaps. Hence the style ranges from the mediaeval character of the entrance gateway through the renaissance south façade to the complete, if ossified, English classic of the chapel.

These changes, however, do not in the least affect anything that the plan stands for—that is, a traditional and reasonable arrangement of the spaces required for all

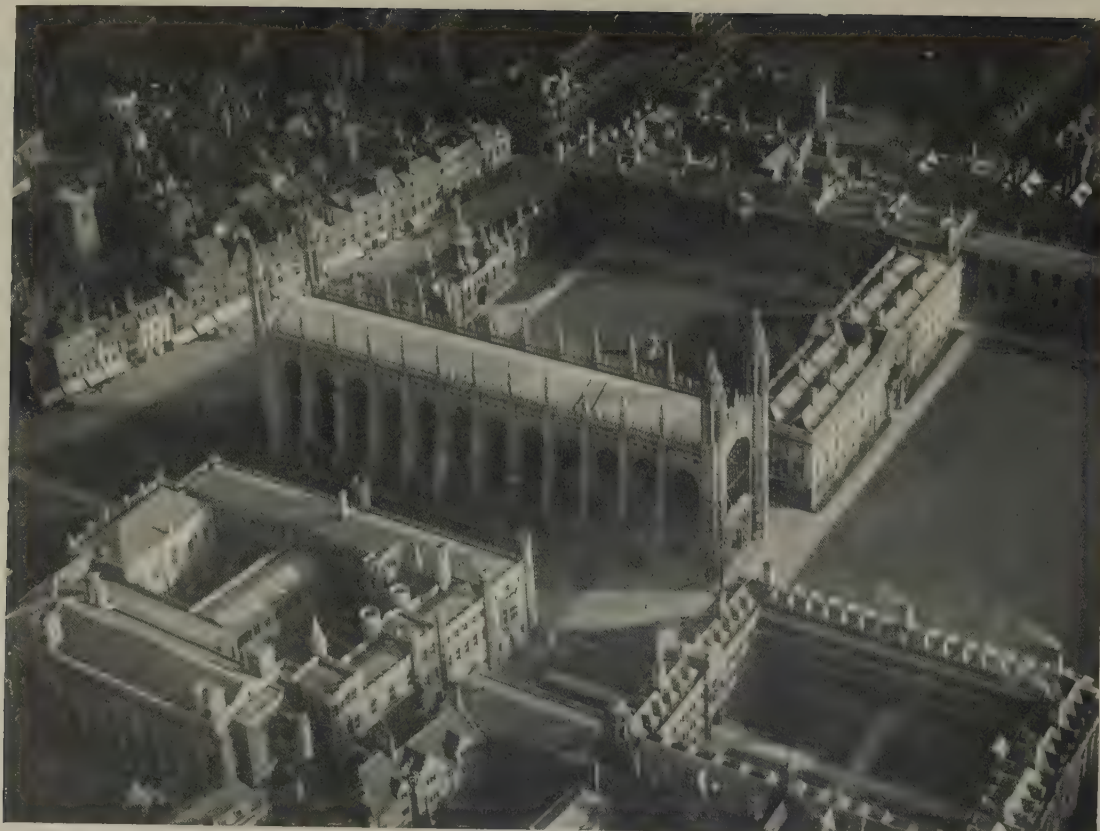
<sup>1</sup> "A college is a domestic building, and in early days the planning of a college was on the same lines as that of a large country house. Professor Willis has pointed out the striking similarity in arrangement between Queens' College and Haddon Hall, both dating from the middle of the 15th century. In each there is a gateway leading into the first court, which has ranges of chambers on the entrance side and left, a chapel on the right, and hall, buttery and kitchens opposite the gate. A passage between hall and buttery leads into the second court, which in each has a long gallery on the right and state apartments opposite, beneath which is an exit or second entrance leading to the gardens. As time went on these arrangements were modified, and we have such plans as those of Peterhouse, where the first court is entered through an arcade on each side of the chapel, or Caius, whose founder, Dr Caius, shewed a fore-knowledge of modern ideas by insisting that the south side of the court should be unbuilt on, for the admission of sunlight and air."—H. Martineau Fletcher, Lecture on "Architecture of Cambridge" to the Architectural Association (*A. A. Journal* for March, 1926).





*Phot. Clemett, circa 1890*

CLARE AND KING'S



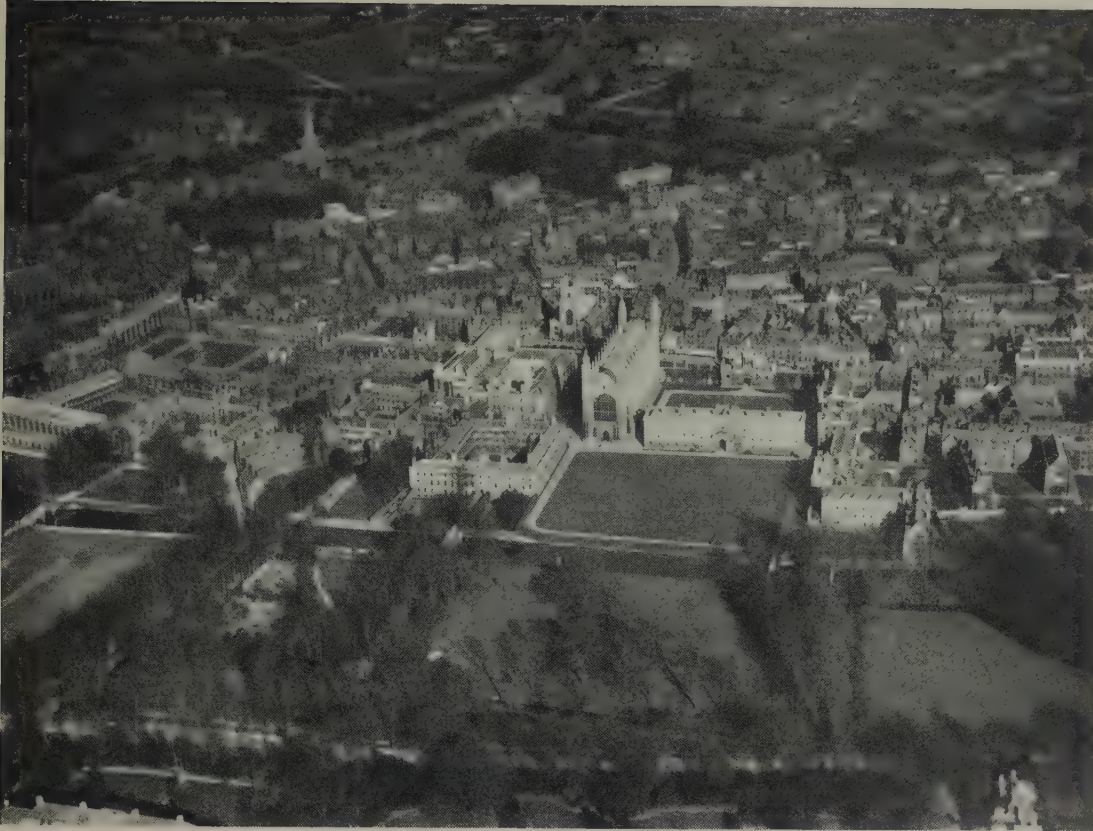
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OUR NEIGHBOURS

*Phot. Clennett, circa 1890*





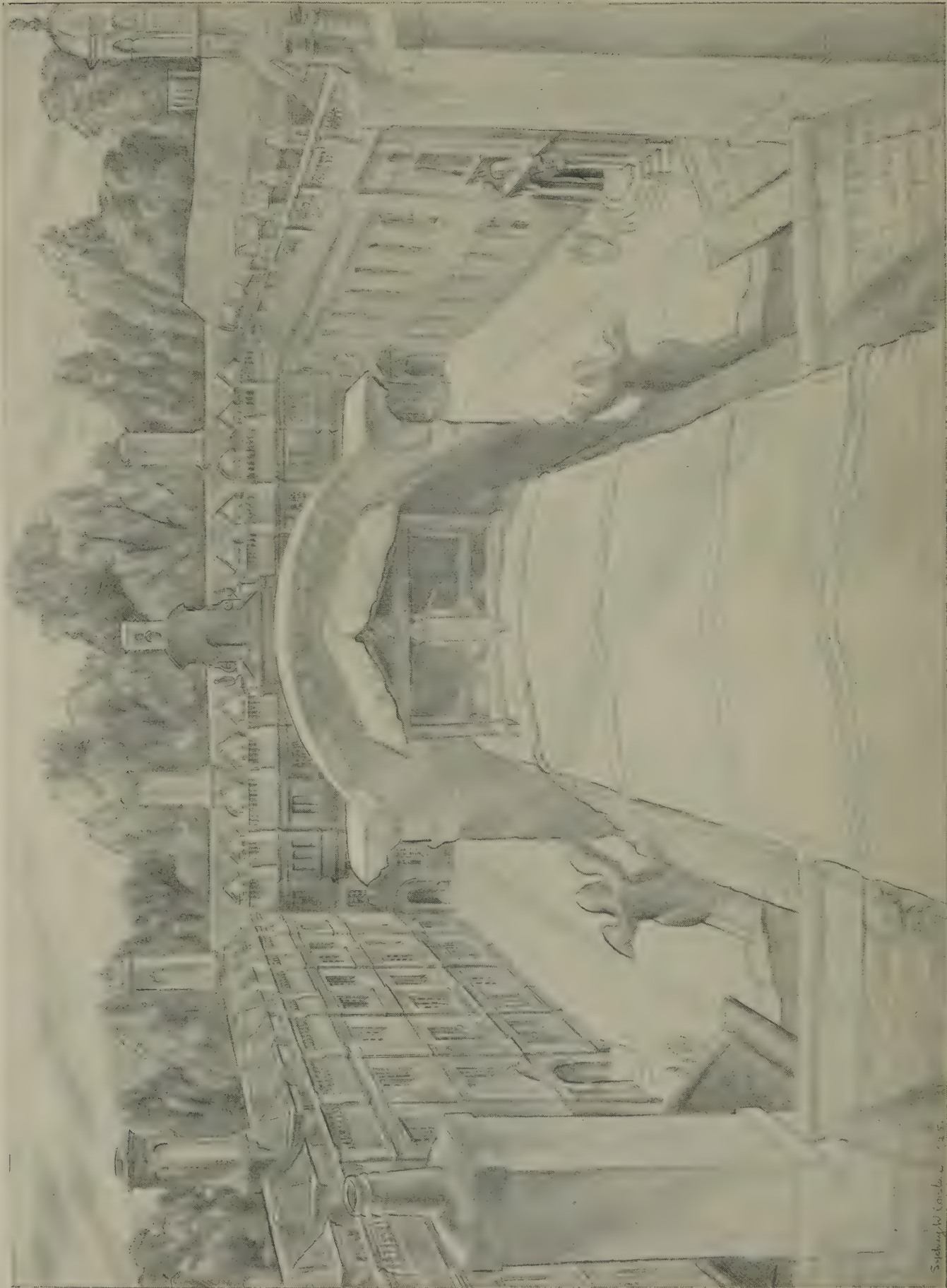
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BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF CAMBRIDGE, 1925



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF CAMBRIDGE, 1575  
From George Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*







## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

the activities of a college. A certain degree of symmetry has been introduced into the lay-out, but the need to develop the full architectural possibilities of the problem was not felt. Reasons of convenience dictated that the hall and chapel should be placed on the north side. By this arrangement the customary orientation of the chapel was still preserved and the warmer and pleasanter aspects thus secured to the living quarters. The convenience is there, but the formal value is lessened by the nonchalant axial way previously mentioned. The cross axis however makes some amends and at its northern end is found the doorway to the vestibule on the east and west of which lie the Hall and kitchen quarters respectively.

The connection between the former and the combination room over the latter is pleasantly marked by means of the gallery at its west end, and the adjoining library opens from it and into the Master's lodge, an arrangement which in the absence of corridor is as happy as could be desired. Inconspicuously placed at the north-east corner of the quadrangle is the entrance to the vaulted corridor which admits to the ante-chapel and so to the chapel itself. Its lack of emphasis in plan is partially compensated, however, by a combination of bold projection and lusty and vivacious detail in the shell hood which surmounts the arch. The planning of the ranges that form the other sides of the quadrangle is in the best English vein. "Magnificence," as Dr Johnson said of Luton-Hoe, "is not sacrificed to convenience nor convenience to magnificence." The Master's lodge is suitably related to the north block and in itself spacious, and it has a garden and an outlook both equally enviable. The east and south ranges follow the early tradition of principal rooms extending the whole depth of the block, an arrangement which considerably lessens the force of Dr Caius's objection to a closed quadrangle. Staircases at the three corners and others by the gateways and opposite to the hall entrance provide access to the fellows' and students' sets.

The plan has been considered both as an organism and as an imprint of a social organism and in both aspects it has relations of the closest kind with things exterior to it. Clare as a building owes a great part of its quality to the character of these.

Its present site is partly the result of the bargainings and struggles with King's College referred to later, but of this we cannot know anything solely from the contemplation of the building. Nor can we know exactly how its space relation with surrounding buildings arose, nor yet to whom credit or the reverse is due: the actuality is all that concerns us here. Its broad relationship to the ground and to the river has already been noted. Those which it has with Trinity Hall and King's College are of equal importance, and in the general conception of Clare the latter relationship is by far the most significant. King's College chapel is without question the very focus of the architectural lay-out of Cambridge, and the square which lies

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between it and the river offers an experience of the most vivid kind. So dominant is the impression produced by the Chapel that we see the whole of the surroundings, both landscape and buildings, in their relation to it. It may be regretted that the Gibbs' block of King's was advanced in front of the line of the Chapel. Had it been set back a little from the river, as purposed by the founder, the whole effect from the backs might have been even finer. But there can be no question that Clare is in precisely the right position, for it is advanced so far as completely to free the end of King's College chapel. There is no competition for position, and both the pattern and the mass of the façade contrast with and complement the central figure. In both the Gibbs' block of King's and the south range of Clare a horizontal<sup>1</sup> expression predominates, but the more vigorous proportions of the former are less sympathetic to the Chapel than the latter's unassertive pattern. The setting back of the college has also produced a most valuable space on its east or entrance front which enables itself to be seen satisfactorily while exposing a reasonable part of the north side of King's chapel; again the projection of Clare's own chapel links the college up with the buildings of Trinity Hall. From the north-west aspect also the relation to Trinity Hall is pleasing in spite of the fact that Clare somewhat overshadows its neighbour. Its more ragged and picturesque north elevation seems to concede something to the mixed styles of the latter.

The relation between the façades of a building and the building as a whole may be compared to that existing between a man's form and features and the man himself. In both cases the exteriors have an independent "face" value and an underlying value dependent on their significance. In either case the whole effect is vastly increased if, on fuller acquaintance, the exterior is found to express and to assist, not to contradict the rest. How far the dual value is present in Clare we may now enquire. Every successful wall treatment is based on the rhythmical use of one or two elements, and despite variations in style in the various parts of the college there can be no questioning the dominant note. It is a simple, and in itself not a brilliantly inspired one, that of slightly projected bays alternating with flat wall surfaces, the bays having triple and the others double windows. This treatment is carried round five out of the eight façades, but its effect on each is modified by other conditions.

In the case of the south front, time and the weather have greatly improved the original composition by bleaching the masonry of the uppermost story, blackening the next, and partially bleaching the base, thus producing a pronounced effect of

<sup>1</sup> A new view and aspect of Clare is the result, since Mr Easton wrote in March, of the uprearing of the new west block of Bodley's Buildings of King's. From the path by the parapet wall of this 'court' above the river, the new building is high enough to cover King's chapel, and at the same time cuts off from view the eastern termination of Clare's south façade. Seen so, this horizontal expression of Clare is greatly increased, and one's experience modulates accordingly.—ED.

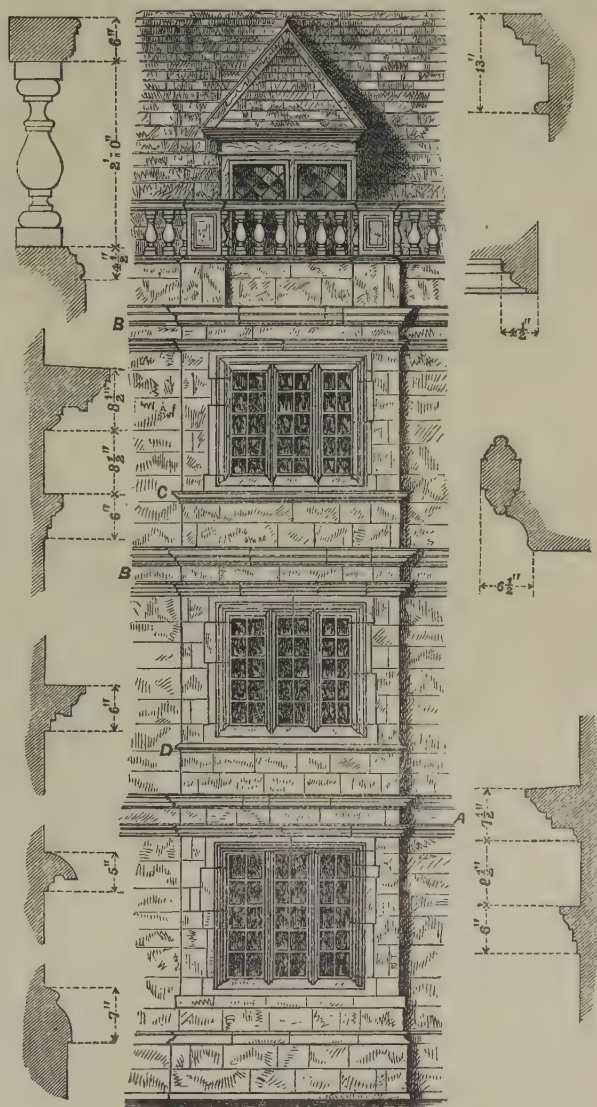


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horizontality. The length of this front being great as compared with its height, this colour banding is very valuable in creating a foil to the aspiring lines of King's College chapel, as well as to those of its own west front. But, neglecting this accidental effect, we find these projecting bays not only produce a rhythm<sup>1</sup>, but evoke a corresponding assurance of ordered variety in the rooms behind—rooms to work in and rooms to sleep in we feel are expressing themselves. These bays are also in effect buttresses, and like Gothic buttresses, they have their horizontal strings and a powerful base.

The seeming equality of the horizontal divisions is lessened by the difference of spacing and treatment of each part, the three entablatures<sup>2</sup>, each with its triple complement of architrave, frieze, and cornice, increasing in depth from the ground storey upward. In the same way the projection of each successive cornice is increased, the lowest being scarcely more than a string-course of Gothic slightness, while the topmost is of almost fully developed classic type.

As a further relief from monotony each storey of windows in the projecting



ELEVATION OF ONE BAY OF THE EAST SIDE OF  
THE WEST RANGE (Willis and Clark)

<sup>1</sup> "There is considerable truth in the saying that the best part of Clare is in King's. The long, unbroken south front is largely responsible for the 'homogeneous appearance, more like a palace than a college,' which Professor Willis so much admired, and which allows the simple but effective rhythm of the alternate receding and projecting bays. . . more room to make its value appreciable than on the confined sides of the court, where it is necessarily broken and confused by the staircase arches and centre features."

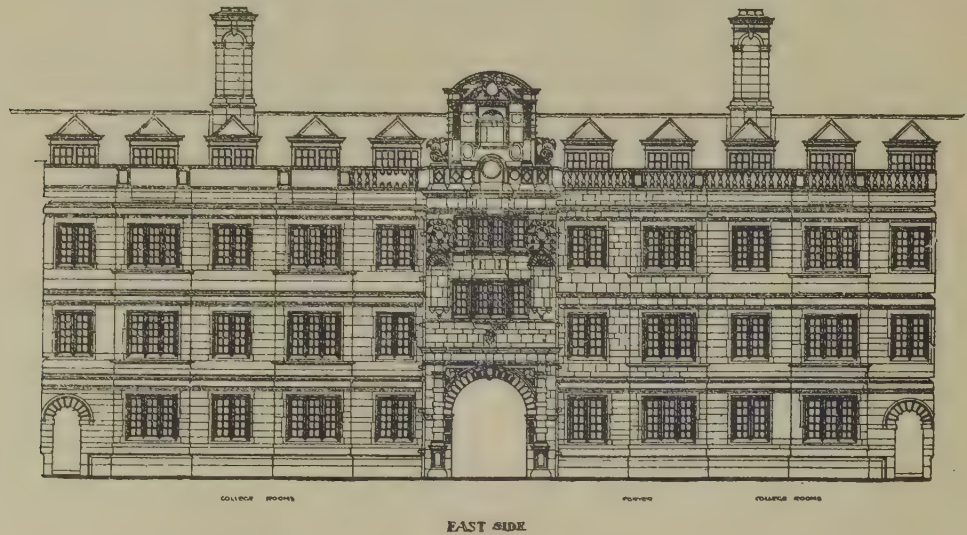
(Geoffrey Webb in *Country Life*, July 10, 1926, p. 64.)

<sup>2</sup> The lowest member, the architrave, is moulded, in Clare, throughout. Between architrave and cornice the treatment varies, this intermediate portion (the frieze) being curved in the case of the west façade, but flat in the earlier work of the east and south blocks.

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bays is marked by a cill mould of different section. Above the cornice the bays send up a pedestal at each end, and these frame the set-back dormers with their hipped roofs. They crown the bays, and each bay forms, as it were, a wide buttress with a pinnacle. But since the dormers do not vary in character, whether over the bay or the recess, they perform another function in helping to make the roof a unity; they are with the roof in presenting an unbroken rhythm, with the walls in forming a climax to each vertical division.

The change of character in the west front is introduced with a directness and lack of apology that disarms criticism. Clearly something new and fashionable had



arrived and was promptly pressed into service. The rhythm changes completely, so that it is hard to believe that the spacing of windows is precisely the same as on the south front. In place of alternating units there is now only one, but it is a more complex unit, composed of a tier of moulded windows framed by pilasters. A more nervous articulation of wall surface quickens the pulse of the building and gives decision and direction to the whole composition. The two façades are almost identical in length, but we feel the west to be the front and the south to be the side. Its length predominates over its height sufficiently to make the general effect a horizontal one, but it is an assemblage of very definitely vertical units, which in their upthrusting activity seem more akin to Gothic forms than do the wider bays of the south façade. Each pier, though divided into superimposed pilasters with an entablature and a pedestal, produces the effect of a buttress. In Palladian compositions (of the English school at any rate) it is unusual to find this complete vertical continuity: generally the pilasters will be found standing on a continuous base, or their entablature will





HALL BELFRY AND CUPOLA

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AN AXIAL PREDICAMENT

*Phot. W. J. Harrison*





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S. WALL OF QUADRANGLE AND KING'S CHAPEL  
FROM S.-W. CORNER OF PARAPET

"They are with the roof," etc.



*Phot. F. L. Attenborough*

WEST RANGE STACKS AND CENTRAL  
FEATURE TO COURT



CHAPEL BELFRY



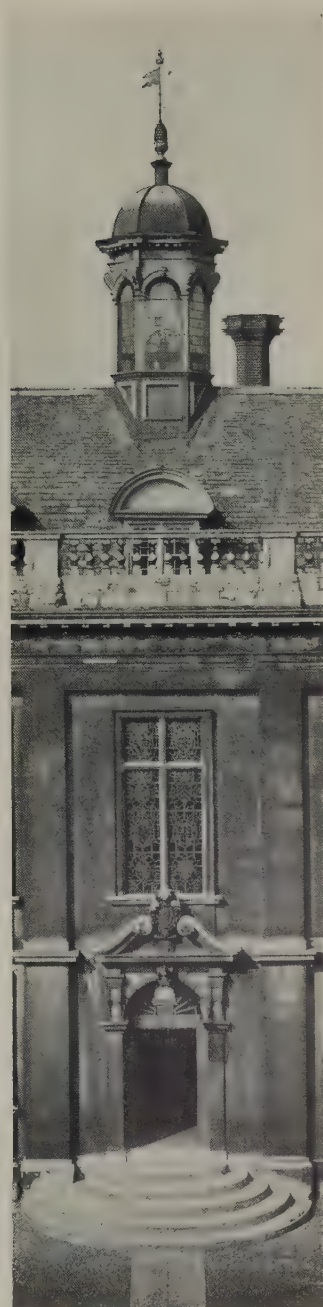
CUSTANCE'S MAP OF CAMBRIDGE  
Shewing Clare Hall and environs, *circa* 1798





*Copyright "Country Life"*

DORMERS AND CUPOLAS OF THE NORTH  
RANGE, OLD COURT



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SERIES OF CENTRAL  
FEATURES

Hall steps to Cupola



WEST FAÇADE, MASTER'S LODGE

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SOUTH FRONT



*Phot. Clennett, circa 1890*

VIEW FROM KING'S MEADOW



Phot. Clemett

WEST FRONT, *circa* 1890

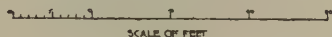


## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

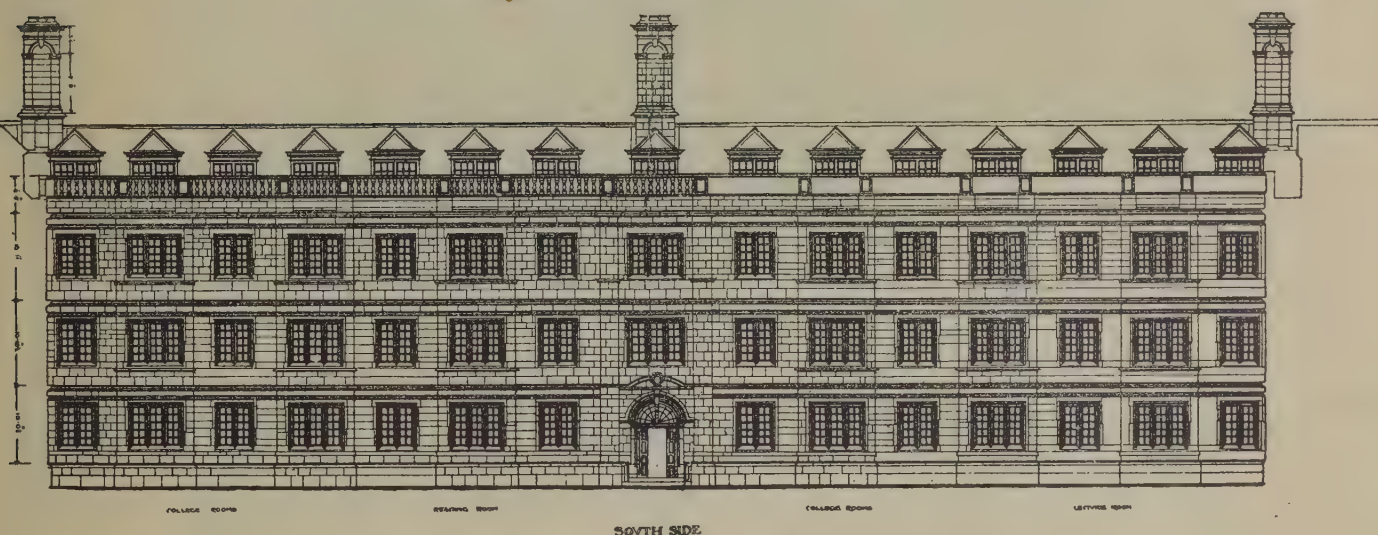
stretch unbroken from one to the other. Here, each moulding has been returned round the pilasters and the shallow entablatures (little more than half the normal depth) are insufficient to neutralize the vertical impression of the whole. The diminutions in width from the base to the ball finial that crowns the balustrade, and the consecutive setting back of the faces of the various parts, further serve to accentuate this feeling of a classicized buttress. The greatest projection is to be found

### CLARE COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

#### THE INTERIOR OF QUADRANGLE



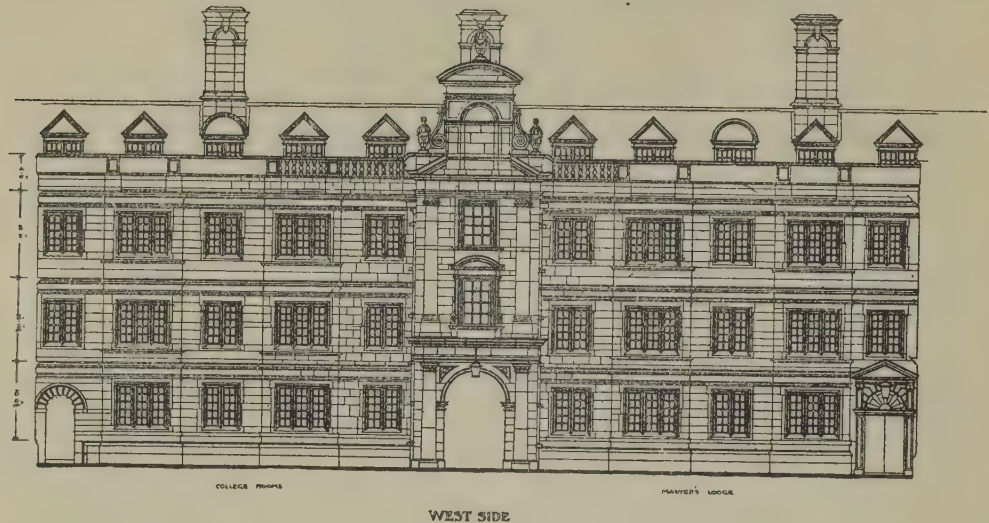
MEASURED AND DRAWN BY MR. T. TYRWHITT.



in the boldly handled pediments over the first floor windows, which consequently play an important part in the composition of the façade. The south elevation has three cornices or string-courses, and the change to a pilaster treatment on the west, though abrupt, has been managed with a good deal of skill for each cornice is carried round. The upper and the lower are annexed by their corresponding entablatures, and the middle one, which would have unpleasingly divided the upper order, is merely recalled by the window architraves, their main projection being lifted up in the form of the pediments. Looked at from the south-west angle this middle cornice is seen to be tilted up and dispersed in a manner that is entirely satisfactory. It is no longer wanted as a straight line and it becomes, appropriately

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enough, a chevron. The dormer roofs, which on the south were all hipped, here break out into pediments, two of triangular to one of circular form, a rhythm which has a whimsical air since it corresponds with nothing below. Nevertheless the vertical pediment faces have a definite effect in adding to the height of each bay. The oddest thing however about this façade is the interpolation of the archway centre with its pedimented superstructure, for in addition to being out of actual centre (this is easily explicable in plan but not in elevation) it is so treated that no one of its horizontal members is in line with those of the façade as a whole, but is in each case



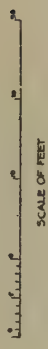
raised above them<sup>1</sup>. Crowned as it is by one of the noble chimneys this centre is not without a certain dramatic effect, as viewed for example from the bridge; yet on the whole it is a misfortune. Its presence is the survival of an architectural organ that has ceased to have a use, and like bodily organs in similar case becomes a source of trouble, for it calls attention to the chief defect of the whole structure as a composition—the inadequate expression of the dominant north range.

Notwithstanding this and other defects, such as the thin effect of the south angle, the west façade of Clare stands in a place by itself in English architectural design, both on account of its beauty and of its significance. Here classic architecture took a definitely English character, and there was held out the promise of a style wholly

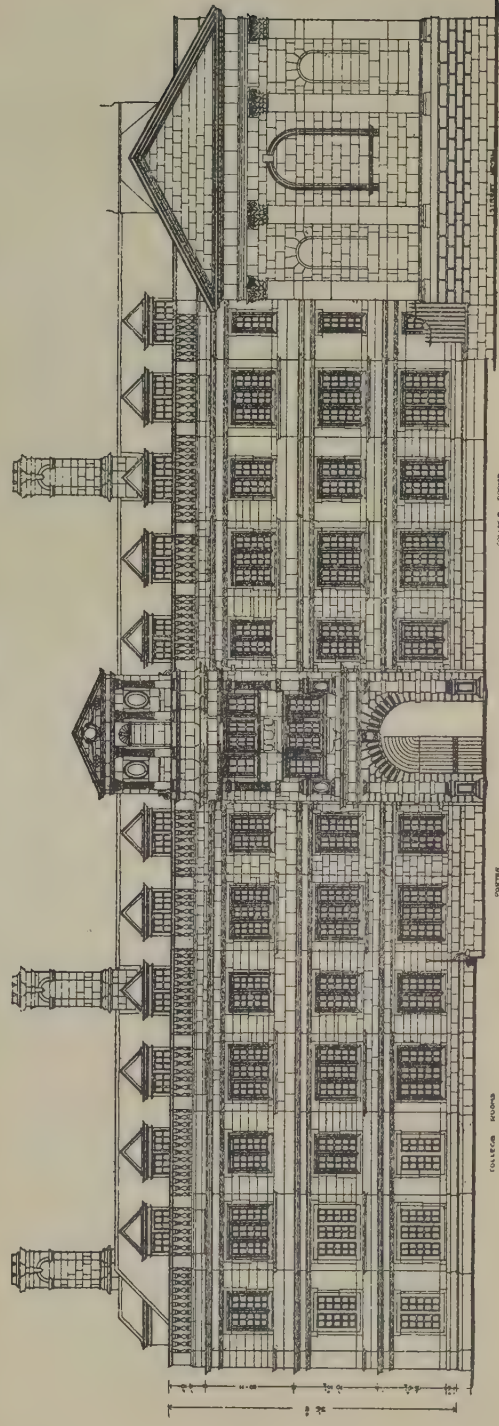
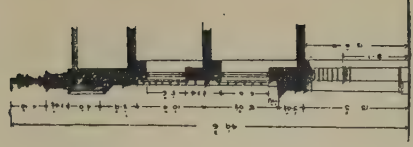
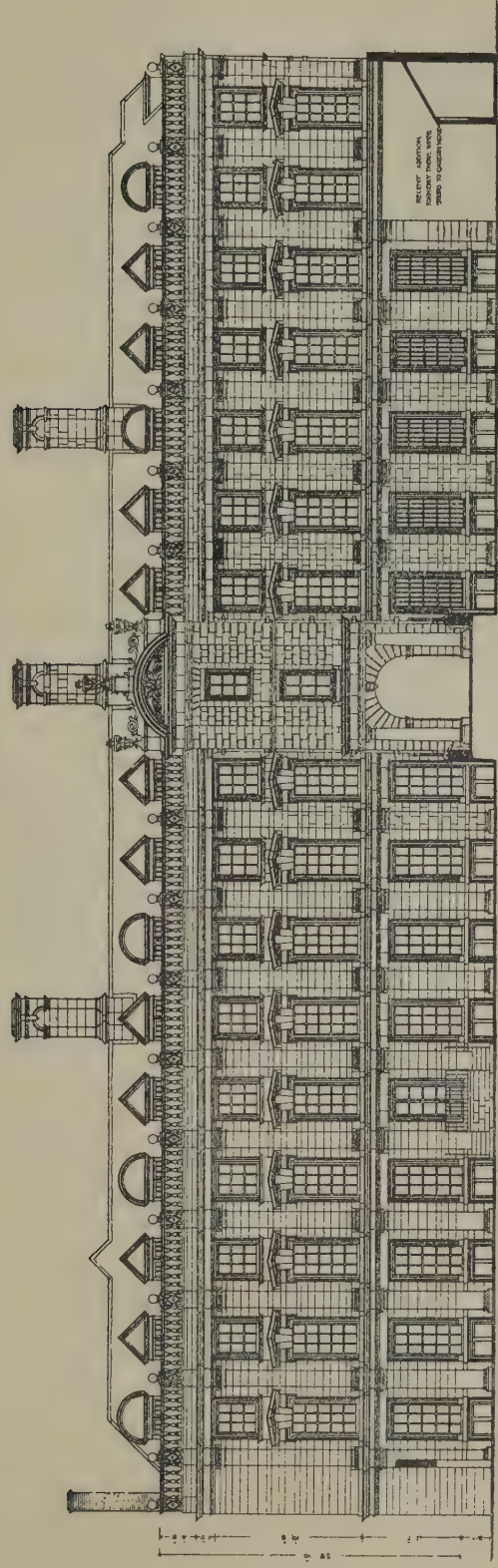
<sup>1</sup> In his article in *Country Life* for July 10, 1926, Mr Geoffrey Webb is a little more sympathetic. "The gateways of this range," he writes, "are interesting; they are designs of Grumbold's later years, and built with deliberate disregard for the horizontals of the original front. This appears to be an instance where the designer was willing to reproduce his early work again for symmetry's sake; but to give up his new and hardly won knowledge of proportion, to make the gateway feature tally with the other work, was too much to ask. In spite of, perhaps, a slightly youthful quality of displayed technique, there is a charm in this river front at Clare that no stricter classicalism could have achieved."



# CLARE COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE



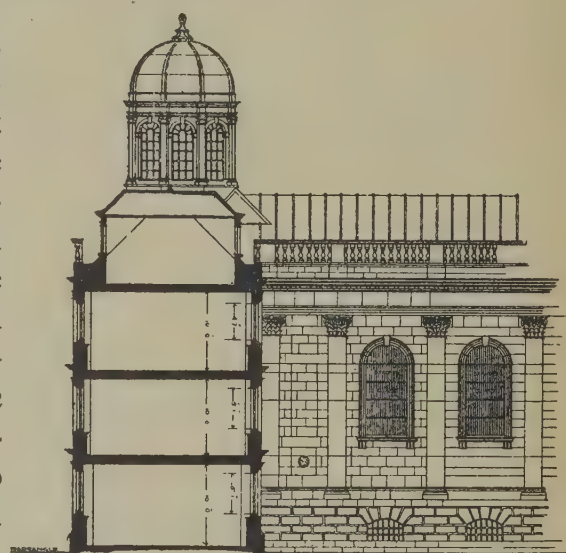
THE RIVER FRONT WAS DESIGNED  
BY PAUL BY ROBERT CROMBOLD MASON  
& WAS RECARVED IN 1844. THE ARCHITECT  
OF THE STREET FRONT IS UNKNOWN



For these and the illustrations on pages 92, 93, 94 and 96 we are indebted to *The Builder* and to Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

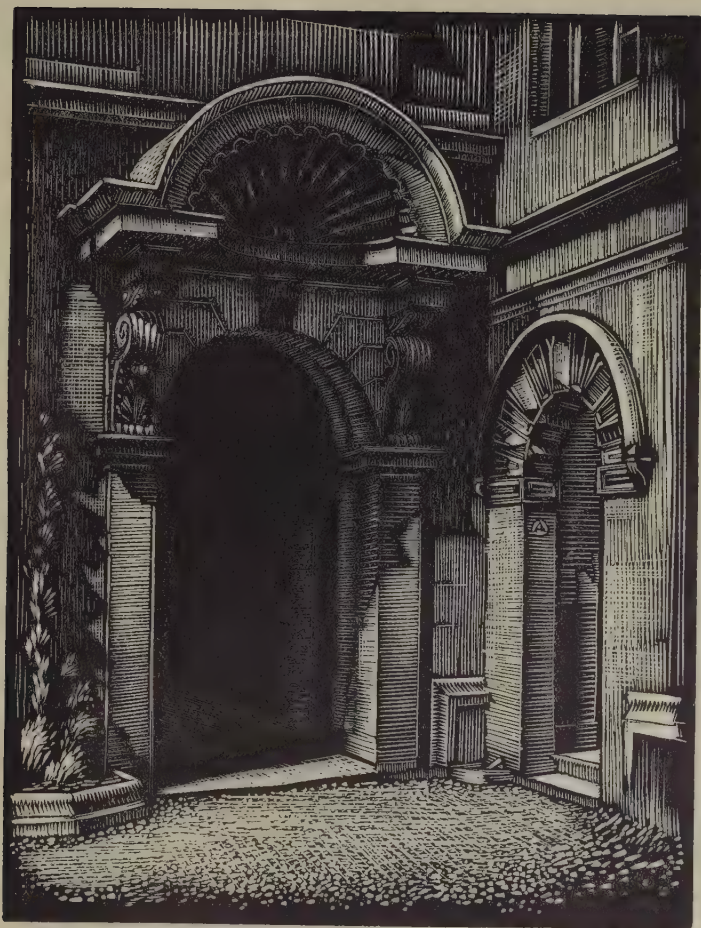
suited to the national temperament and conditions<sup>1</sup>. The work of Inigo Jones and Wren was that of individuals of genius who had a far fuller knowledge of classic design than had Robert Grumbold the builder and in all probability the architect of this façade. His shortcomings as a reproducer of Italian detail, even as a designer, are obvious, but his innate sensibility, combined with the weight of technical tradition behind him, enabled him to weld two distinct styles into one. The result shows many traces of the join but it is in the main coherent. In late Tudor and Jacobean work classic elements had been used merely as surface decoration and the result, though sometimes picturesque, was more barbaric than any Gothic. It had in fact combined the least valuable elements of the native and foreign styles. "L'architecture," M. Le Corbusier writes, "est le jeu magnifique des formes sous la lumière. L'architecture est un système cohérent de l'esprit. L'architecture n'a rien à voir avec le décor." This west façade makes use of Italian details, but so as to increase its scale and to simplify and clarify its intention. It may be argued that it is merely the English love of a compromise that makes us find more satisfaction in this piece of work than in another designed by a scholarly architect in full Palladian figure. The compromise is there, it is true, as witness the reduced cornices carried round from the south front, and resembling a Gothic string-course complex that fleetly traverses the vertical persistence of the pilasters, instead of effectually confining it beneath the combination of solid weight with projection that constitutes the essence of the classic cornice. But the real value is in a sense of freedom retained—freedom not *for* arbitrariness but *from* arbitrary rules that make the wall treatment an end in itself instead of a means to express spaces, conditions, functions and materials and all that can be fitly embodied in building. To particularize—this façade displays, and still more foreshadows, the possibility of a treatment in which voids might be as great or greater than



SIDE OF CHAPEL

<sup>1</sup> "It is noticeable all through how strongly English is the flavour of the work, and it surely behoves anyone building at Cambridge to preserve this flavour. This need not imply any sacrifice of modernity, but, to take a concrete example, I think the soundest criticism of Waterhouse's work at Caius is that it is definitely foreign, and therefore out of tune with the local orchestra."—*Architectural Association Journal*, March, 1926, p. 180. Report of Lecture on Cambridge by H. M. Fletcher.





*J. F. Greenwood del. 1925*

DOORS TO CHAPEL PASSAGE AND  
STAIRCASE. (A)

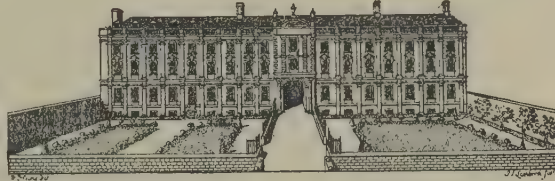




## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

solids without loss of repose, in which a horizontal effect might be produced by a repetition of verticals without the need for overshadowing cornices, in which roof and chimneys could add to the sense of space and dignity without upsetting the serenity of the composition. All the elements required by buildings in a northern climate have been made use of and organised in a way that must have been satisfying to that age and gives delight to ours.

[We have received permission from Messrs B. T. Batsford, to whom we are much indebted, to reproduce *verbatim* the letter-press descriptive of Plate cxxxii, Vol. II, of the monumental work entitled *Late Renaissance Architecture in England*, by John Belcher, A.R.A., and Mervyn E. Macartney. This plate depicts, in very large dimensions, the centre of the river front with the three bays adjoining it to the south, and we quote the description because it both adds to and endorses Mr Murray Easton's estimate.



Taken as a whole, the buildings of Clare College are among the most satisfactory in Cambridge, the river front being particularly good. It would seem, however, that it was only by slow stages, and by a process of continual alteration and addition, that they have been brought to their present pitch of excellence.

That portion of the river front...illustrated...dates from the year 1671; but the gateway and front on the left of it were built in 1715, in which year also stone mullions and lead lights were removed from the windows. It was not until 1815 that the cills of the ground- and first-floor windows were lowered as we now see them.

The whole treatment of this beautiful front was doubtless largely affected by the work which had already been carried out (1642) on the south side. The bridge...was designed and built in 1640, by Thomas Grumbold, a Cambridge mason, who also carried out other work at the College, and was succeeded in 1669 by his son Robert. It was Robert Grumbold who remodelled the river front, and, whatever alterations may have been effected since, it is to him we are indebted for its supreme charm and excellence. He designed it to the height of the adjoining buildings, but by the introduction of Ionic pilasters and by a beautifully proportioned division of the height into two parts, he succeeded in giving to the whole a valuable scale and a solid effect.

A striking feature, which runs like a frieze the whole length of the front, is the line of window heads and pediments on the first floor. The keystones and the breaking forward of the cornice of the pediment were nothing new, but the way Grumbold has adapted and repeated these features is most effective.

The balustrading is in good scale, and the fine chimney stacks are models for all time; indeed much of the effect of the whole composition is due to them. The dormer windows also form an important element in the composition. They are not only in relation to, but appropriately complete, each bay. The entrance archway bay forms a good foil to the work on either side. The small windows light the staircase to each floor, and are necessarily not on the same level with the main windows. They are well separated from the latter by quoins and rusticated piers. The engraved columns and architraves which frame the archway are the least satisfactory part of the design.

The entrance gates [east] to the college have beautifully proportioned piers, which were probably designed by Grumbold in 1673. The iron gates themselves were added forty years later.

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

At the close of their treatment of St Catharine's College, for whose central and north blocks Grumbold was also responsible, Belcher and Macartney opine that whether Grumbold is responsible for the entrance gates is doubtful. They are fine in scale and proportion but not so good as he designed for Clare. Here the jointing of the piers suggests casing; at Clare they are built up.

This contrast tempts us to include, from this account of St Catharine's, further Grumbold-esque comparisons.



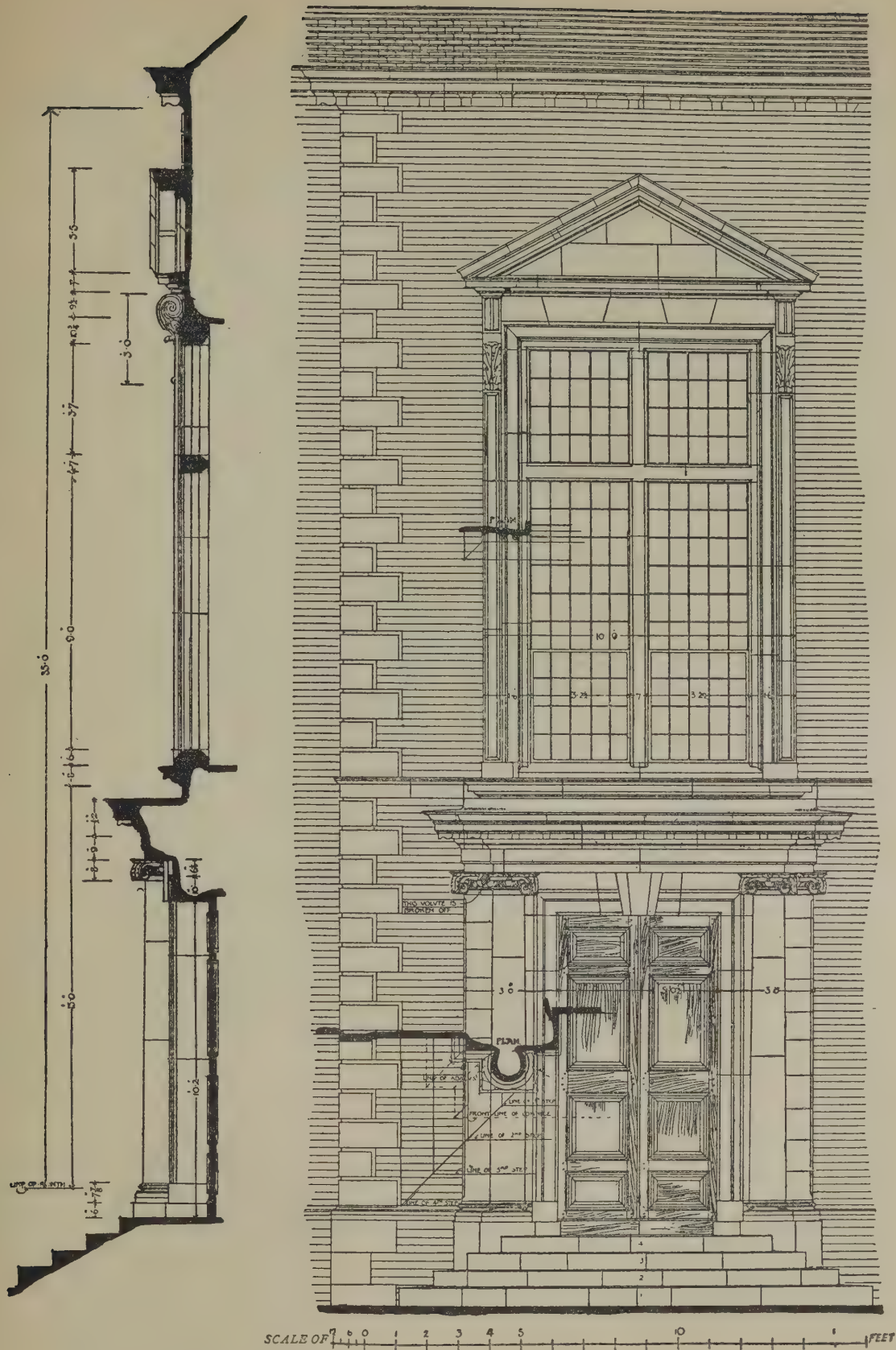
MAIN ENTRANCE GATES, TO EAST, THE PIERS DESIGNED BY ROBERT GRUMBOLD

From *Late Renaissance Architecture in England*, by courtesy of Messrs B. T. Batsford

The centre portion of the [central] front [of St Catharine's] is said by Atkinson and Clark to have been erected in 1679, from the designs of Mr Elder of London; but the general detail points to R. Grumbold who admittedly built (1694) the chapel on the north side.... The three-centred rusticated archway and the order below are very similar to those at Clare College. The relative proportions of the orders and the character and alternate disposition of the rounded and pointed pediments to the attic windows, form other features of resemblance between the two buildings. Even the chimney-stacks, allowing for differences in material, possess the same commendable largeness, so that the work at St Catharine's must have been carried out by Grumbold, or have been influenced by his work at Clare, which was already partially completed.

St Catharine's Chapel is known to be Grumbold's work. The beauty and excellence of the detail to the entrance doorway and window over may be appreciated from the measured drawing [here given]. The engaged Ionic columns and projecting pilaster and architrave form a fine base to the high window over it. The cill of this window, which carries the projecting pilaster and architrave, is unexpectedly carried back (see section given) to the face of the wall, instead of being taken down to project on to the cornice.





ENTRANCE TO ST CATHARINE'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, BY ROBERT GRUMBOLD  
 From *Late Renaissance Architecture in England*, by courtesy of Messrs B. T. Batsford

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

Robert Grumbold could desire no better gratitude from Clare men than an intelligent interest in *all* his work. We include these details, therefore, without apology, for what they may effect in the stimulation of a not unluccrative form of gratitude.—ED.]

Reference has been made to the fact that the gateway feature is not in the middle of Clare's west front and is in itself inadequate to create a fresh centre, but it should be remarked that Clare bridge and its approaches do a good deal to add weight to and steady this eccentric centre. In itself too the bridge is a work of rare quality. Scale and proportions have been adjusted with a perfect understanding of what such a bridge should be. The springing of its elliptical arches from water level shows deference to the calm and brimming character of the river, and the slight lift of the centre span goes with its relative narrowness in expressing its private character. The masonry detail is robust and yet playful (balusters set diagonally and stone balls) so that the bridge in its setting has an almost Chinese grace and serenity<sup>1</sup>.

The east front facing the University Library displays (in the entrance gateway

<sup>1</sup> The authorship of the bridge is surmised rather than known. In the issue of *Country Life* for July 10, 1926, Mr Geoffrey Webb writes: "The celebrated bridge at Clare College was one of the earliest works of the Carolean rebuilding (1638-39-40). The acquisition of the plot of land across the river, Butt Close, from King's, and the convenience of an approach from that direction for bringing materials for the rebuilding into the college, justified the Fellows in building their bridge before even one range of chambers was completed. That Thomas Grumbold, the mason, who was employed on the east and south ranges, was responsible for the general design and the actual work of the stone details is assumed from the following entries in the accounts:

Jan 18. 1638-9. To Tho: Grumball for a drought of a bridge	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
March 4    ,,    to Richard Chamberlayne in p <sup>t</sup> of a bargain for the Gates and Bridges							
into and out of K. Coll: Butclose	...	...	...	...	60	0	0
Febr 1. 1639-40. To Grumbald for working ye Rayle and Ballisters xl shill. Febr 8 <sup>th</sup>							
40 shill. Febr 22 45s.	...	...	...	...	6	5	0
Nov. 16. 1640. To . . . for filling up the Core of ye Bridge	...	...	...	...	0	6	6

This evidence has been taken as decisive, but the small amount of Grumbold's fee and his detail payment for the balustrade, etc., in comparison with Richard Chamberlayne's £60, gives rise to some curious reflections on his position as designer of the work. This is the only instance where a design is mentioned in the building accounts before the Restoration; and perhaps, with our modern ideas of the sanctity of architectural designs, we may be tempted to attach too much importance to it. It may very well be, in view of Grumbold's position and scale of pay both here and in the main building accounts, that the "drought" was merely an indication of the nature of the ornamental part of the bridge, and that he had little part in determining its main proportions, or in the engineering part of the undertaking.

This is to put the extreme case against Grumbold's authorship, but the bridge is so exquisite a piece of masonry and depends so much on the quality of its good stonework for its effect—is, in short, so much a mason's job—that we may, I think, give Thomas Grumbold the credit for it. It is interesting to compare this bridge with that of St John's College, built by Robert Grumbold in 1696. The contrast is less marked than one might have expected; the Clare bridge is, perhaps, a subtler, certainly a more ingenious, design—note especially the suggestion of a pilaster rising out of the buttresses of the piers and the diagonally set balusters: at St John's they are the orthodox round Italian variety; but the whole composition of the later work, with the great gate piers at the eastern end, has a more magnificent and monumental feeling."





*Copyright F. R. Yerbury, 1925*

AN ALMOST CHINESE SERENITY



FROM WATER LEVEL. WINTER OF 1925-6

*Copyright G. E. Briggs*



THE PALACE IN THE JUNGLE, circa 1886

*Phot. Clennett*





FROM A WEST FRONT DORMER-TOP

*Copyright M. D. F.*





OLD NEEDLEWORK VIEW AFTER LAMBORN'S ENGRAVING



KING'S GATE TO CLARE PIECE  
A vanished avenue

*Phot. Clennett, circa 1890*





WEST FRONT FROM FELLOWS' GARDEN, *circa* 1780. LAMBORN'S VIEW

CLARE AND KING'S BACKS, *circa* 1810. HARRADEN'S VIEW





*Copyright "Country Life"*

MAIN ENTRANCE WITH EAST GATES AND FAN-VAULTING OF 1638





*Copyright "Country Life"*

ORIEL AND PEDIMENTED GABLE, EAST RANGE CENTRE, OLD COURT



*Photo. Clennett*

THE EAST FRONT, FROM PLOT EXCHANGED WITH KING'S  
Shewing shadow of King's Chapel



## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

and the chapel) a greater divergence of feeling and style than is to be found elsewhere in the college. The alignment of the chapel with Trinity Hall, however, separates it so much from the set-back main front that we are not conscious of it as a discordant, but rather as a separate, unit, and although the designer took pains to align his cornice with the uppermost of the three in the earlier block he obviously felt that the etiquette of deference to seniority made no further demand. The masonry of the exterior has weathered to so dusky a shade that its pleasing if not inspired proportions count for less than they might. The east end is exactly square, a ratio which is apt to be stodgy unless treated with more boldness than is shown here, but the south side with its five windows and reduced end bays has a nice balance, and the detail is unimpeachably correct. The general character of the east front of the main buildings is precisely the same as that of the south front but for the entrance gateway, which has the small scale<sup>1</sup> and rich decoration typical of Jacobean work. As in the west front its horizontal members break all the others but with better effect than there, for the entrance gateway is merely a glorified bay among smaller and plainer ones. The radial pattern of the arch voussoirs is interesting, but as a composition this gateway is probably the least satisfactory of the four. We feel that the designer of it was suffering from an *idée fixe* that entrance ways had to be adorned with superimposed orders. Within, its chief interest lies in the two-bay fan vault which covers it—one of the last built in England. An elusive spirit of archaeological revivalism must be added to the delightful chaos of influences which went to make up the personality of *homo sapiens* in the early seventeenth century, and it is perhaps to this rather than to genuine survivalism that our tracery must be credited. This spirit appears to have given rise, in Scotland as well as in England, to certain “anachronisms” of building that seem to embody a winsome sentiment of loyalty. Oxford inevitably supplies a full-dress example in the staircase to the Hall of Christ Church. Here the tracery, so suggestive of the epoch of Henry VII, actually took shape a century and a half later, when Dr Fell was Dean, in 1639–40—almost coincidentally, in fact, with the Clare example, which dates, according to H. M. Fletcher, from 1638. Renaissance classic first insinuated itself into Gothic compositions in the ‘gratuitous’ forms of decorative detail; these grew, as it were, upon the Gothic till important classic structural conventions took heart and initiative to impose themselves. The third act, if we may be allowed so to simplify the stages in process, was one of wholesale substitution.

<sup>1</sup> Scale is size. In architectural phraseology the word is used to denote size as visually apprehended, and as affecting us through its relation to the sum of our ideas about size, all of which refer ultimately to the human form.

The quality of the effect produced depends on the relation, thus perceived, of the several parts of a building or of a group of buildings to one another and to the whole.

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

It is to the first phase, of insinuation, that the Renaissance-style bosses of the entrance archway's tracery belong.

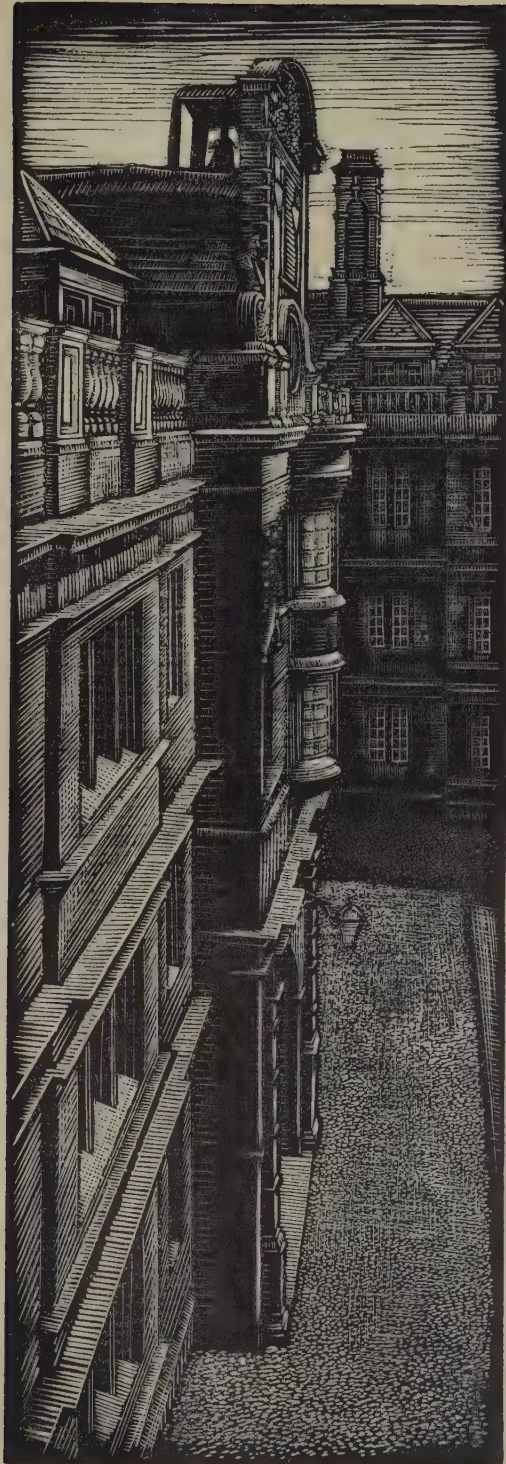
Three sides of the quadrangle repeat the alternating-bay treatment of the south and east exterior façades, and, less bleached by weather than the south front, expose more clearly its hesitancy between vertical and horizontal movement. Against this is to be set the fact that the sides are naturally shorter, and that the gateways, truly central within the court, are much more valuable than they are without. That value is increased by the non-committal attitude of the rest of the walls, and by the fact that both gateway-features are effective in outline. That on the east side gains by the substitution of a niche treatment in place of columns above the arch. This tops the main horizontals in a more kindly way, and contrasts well with the central oriel. Moreover an enriched band lines with and echoes the balustrade instead of breaking it, and the pedimented superstructure shows skilful handling in its diminished width and scale. Charming detail is to be found in the various doorways, but this calls for illustration rather than for comment.

The chapel entrance, previously described, opens into a small but lofty antechapel, an octagonal room 27 feet across, whose lantern, 60 feet above, seems startlingly remote. This may lift up the heart but is at least as likely to make one feel at the bottom of a well, and the chapel beyond seems a comparatively mundane place by contrast. Within, as without, the main proportions are happy, the three divisions of panelled stall-backs, walls, and vault being well adjusted. But the small Corinthian pilasters detract from the vigour of the whole, the plaster decoration is somewhat trite, and the coloured glass of the windows (nineteenth century) is deplorable. Downcast eyes will see nothing that is not good—a fine marble floor interestingly patterned and the mellow colour of old oak stalls that build up well. They may lift up somewhat to admire a handsome if rather pedantic altar piece, also in carved oak, with an Italianate painting by Cipriani.

The Hall is an apartment almost identical with the chapel in size (57 by 27 feet). It is divided into a lower portion, indicated by the blind windows of the exterior elevation, and a major upper portion, the former handsomely panelled and the latter plastered and painted. The flat beamed and panelled plaster ceiling is rich; we may oracularly describe the monumental carved chimney piece as even richer. It is partly a fine room and partly a room of excellent nineteenth century intention that did not come to good. So it is with pleasure that we enter the combination room. Its stately proportion and the beauty of detail and colour of its oak wainscotting, these combine to create an atmosphere of delight<sup>1</sup>. The college library

<sup>1</sup> The feeling of space is subtly increased by the slight additional projection of the central panel of each wall. Each of these projections sets up, as it were, a rippling of the corniced ceiling-mouldings, and this





*J. F. Greenwood del. 1925*

CLOCK BELFRY AND SILHOUETTE  
OF CENTRAL FEATURE, EAST RANGE,  
FROM THE NORTH





## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

adjoining it is a room slightly larger but of similar proportions whose fittings and contents, described elsewhere in this book, need not be referred to here.

Within the master's lodge a maturer English classic style is met with, for besides being the last part of the work, with the exception of the chapel, to be finished the house has obviously undergone modifications at a later period<sup>1</sup>. Rooms with bow ends and various details of finish proclaim this fact as clearly as the records. Very "architectural" in treatment with its fine columns is the hall: very successful also. And the staircase in a separate hall to the north is a very perfect piece of joinery design. The low rail is supported on twisted balusters and ramped up to newels in the form of Corinthian columns; a wall rail echoes its contour, while the open string is finely carved. Everything about the staircase is as Wren would have done it, but the hall which contains it is almost uncomfortably high. The west range is deeper than the east and south ranges, and so permits of rooms which do not extend from wall to wall and are yet spacious. Such are the principal rooms of the master's lodge, and it would be hard to find their betters in general shape and in outlook. Among those of the fellows and students are some that are little inferior in size and appearance. Many of the sitting-rooms have windows on opposite sides of the walls—a cheerful and hygienic arrangement but not a very reposeful one. Their high silled windows too are for letting light in rather than for looking out of. All are of modest and reasonable height. There is in these ranges a good deal of panelling of a pleasant simple character, and some pieces of more ornate joinery—the central staircase of the south range for example.

A building that people live in and that yet is perfectly tidy all round is out of nature: it savours of whited sepulchres. Clare having no less than seven neat and presentable façades, gains rather than loses our esteem by reason of her eighth and ragged northern front. It is very discreetly masked, from the west by the projecting wing of the master's lodge and on the east by the imminence of Trinity Hall. And after all it is a very presentable piece of building in deep red brick and has a very charming porch with wooden columns and a hipped tile roof<sup>2</sup>. Most of the windows

creates a certain spiritedness, in itself defiant of monotony, but increased to a delicate gaiety by the refined disposition of enrichments which, though highly gilt, assert themselves with an elusive liveliness and sparkle that is at once both vital and subdued.

We cannot wonder at the *encomia* which greeted the creation of this room in the mid-eighteenth century. If its hall were of equal merit, Clare would indeed be fortunate.

<sup>1</sup> It appears that it was extensively remodelled in 1815—at a date just, fortunately, pre-neo-Gothic. As fortunate, however, has been the retention, in the charmingly spaced first floor drawing-room, of certain Early Victorian decorative ribbon-panels, with thin carved and gilt framing enclosing strips of flowered paper. This last has a hard, bright and yet not unsubtle colouring that makes one regret the disappearance of the intermediate large panels. There can be few rooms left nowadays where interior decoration of this date and quality has survived.

<sup>2</sup> This is at the base of a projecting staircase tower which is noticed by Geoffrey Webb as follows: "This

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

hereabouts are the early mullioned and transomed ones<sup>1</sup>. There is a little space here for the excrescences that an old building puts out and the whole is paved, walled, tidy, and comely—

A creature not too bright and good  
For human nature's daily food.

The high massif of the north "front," trammelled with casual shapes and flushing a dark rosy-black, can be well appreciated from rooms in the new Garret Hostel range of Trinity Hall. From Garret Hostel bridge, both north and west façades are seen, and the contrast reinforces an experience of a kind *sui generis*, we suppose, in Cambridge. The range and the nature of the embankment walling between the bridges and of the wall between the two colleges combine to create the illusion that Clare must be raised upon some high-built terrace, masked from sight, and the building, because of this north front more massively apprehended from here than from elsewhere, takes on an air of sombre and distinguished reticence that recalls experiences one hardly expects to enjoy except in Italy. This north-west aspect rarely elicits such architecturally aesthetic comment; again, as in the case of the very different south-west aspect from the King's bridge neighbourhood, because the *mise en scène* is otherwise distracting, and the gaze falls inadvertently as with a day-dream laxity and abeyance. The effect obtains, too, but not in such open perspective and deploy, from the north end of the riverside walk in the Fellows' Garden. Of course the great chestnuts, which so enhance the effect in winter, preclude, in summer, its taking place at all, while a jungle of foliage more difficult to condone smothers much of the river front from view.

tower is very similar to that of St Catharine's College (1674-75), also by Grumbold, but the latter is a prominent feature jutting out into the little Bull Court, in which Grumbold's work puts on its company manners and the square and oriel windows are disposed with classical symmetry—indeed, the oval window is blind, a mere stone ornament. But at Clare, where the tower is hidden away, it has quite a Gothic quaintness, with its bare wall space above the porch finishing in an oval window poked up under the roof, so that the eaves have to be curved over it like the thatching of a cottage. It is, perhaps, not going too far to suggest that Grumbold has here indulged a natural taste for quaintness and conceits, which was the characteristic of the Tudor and Jacobean builders from whom he was descended and with whom in this he was still at one when he got a chance, for all the influence of Wren and his classicism. The interest of Robert Grumbold's career lies in just such points as these. In his work at Clare alone there are examples of almost every phase of the transition from the Carolean to the full Renaissance style of Wren." (*Country Life*, July 10, 1926, pp. 60-2.)

<sup>1</sup> "...the only surviving examples of the typical transitional seventeenth century window in the college." (*Ibid.*)

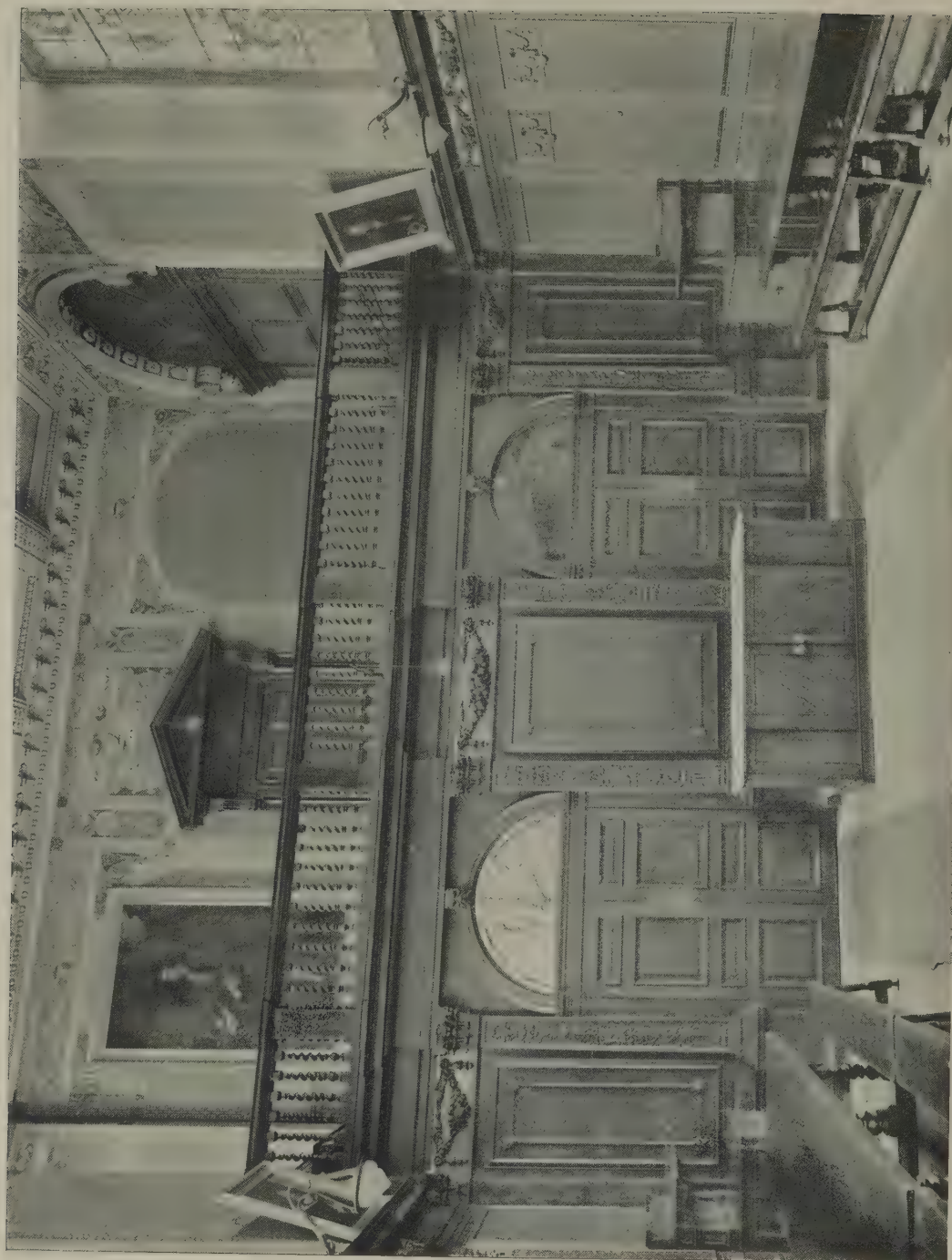




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STACK AND CHAPEL BELFRY

From leads by Clock Belfry, east range, looking north



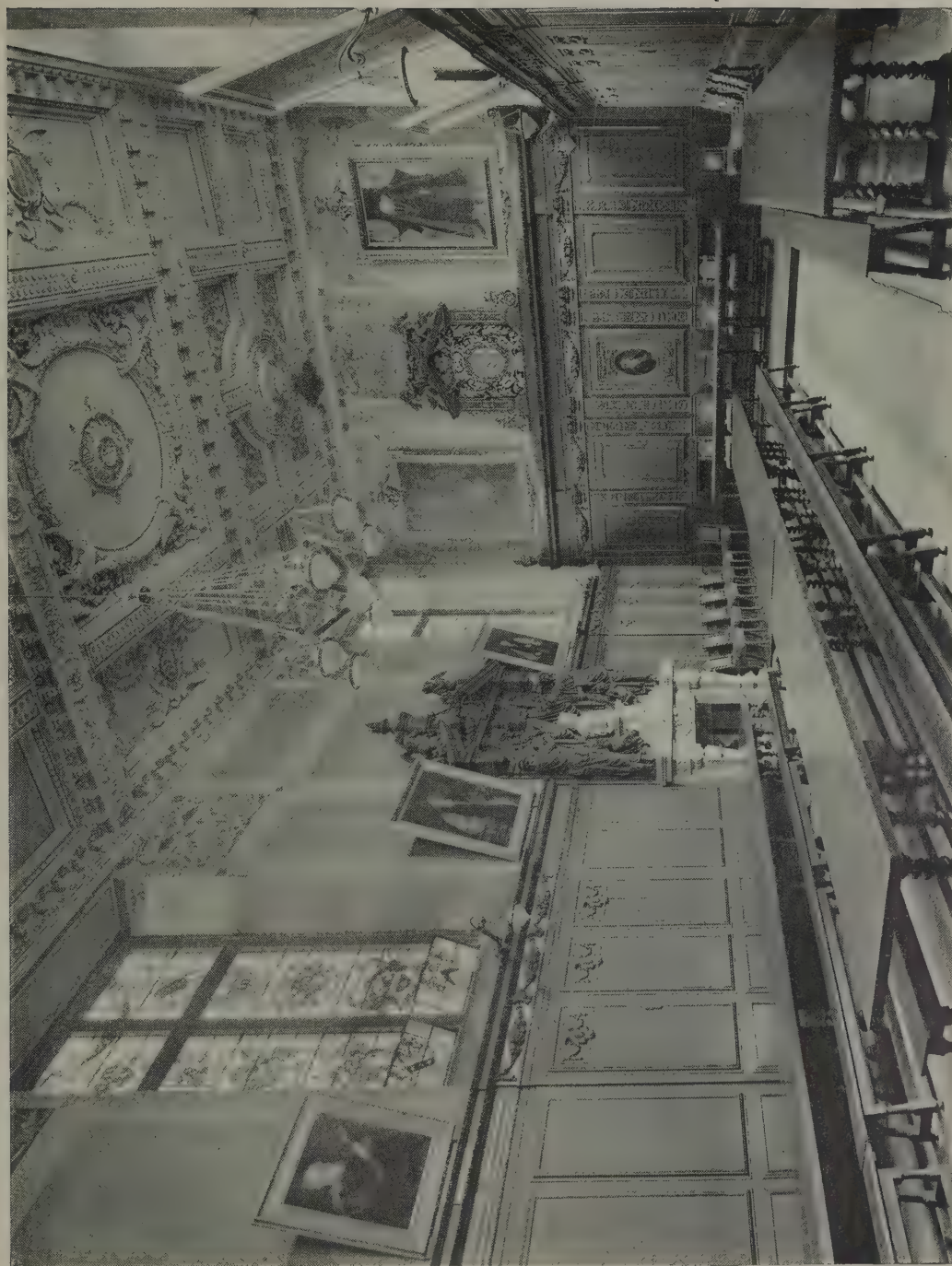
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### HALL OF CLARE, WEST END

With Doors to Screens, Gallery, and Combination Room

Portraits: extreme left, Richard Love; right, Martin Folkes (after the original by Hogarth) and, in gallery, The Hon. Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer





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HALL OF CLARE, LOOKING TO DAIS AND EAST END

Portraits from left to right: Edward Atkinson, *Mag. Coll.*; Humphrey Henchman, Latimer, Duke of Newcastle, Earl of Exeter, Tillotson (by Sir Godfrey Kneller); and, foreground to right, Marquis Cornwallis





*Phot. by the late H. B. Woods (at Clare, 1920-1924)*

THE CHAPEL, LOOKING WEST



# THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

## II. HISTORICAL

The postponement to this point of references to the building of Clare College is due to no underestimate of its interest and importance but rather to a belief that the actual appearance of the building has values which are not dependent on, however much they may be enriched and explained by, those historical and cultural factors with which we now propose to deal.

The present building is the successor of several earlier structures the first of which, adapted to its purpose in 1326, was destroyed by fire in 1338. In the same year Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Clare, endowed and rebuilt the College. This building, altered and added to from time to time, lasted till 1521 when another fire consumed the master's lodge and the treasury. A new Hall, Chapel, Master's Lodge and Kitchen were therefore built, the work being carried on from 1523 to 1536. Of this group of buildings there exists a record<sup>1</sup> which, though not made till 1714, is believed to be fairly reliable. This is a bird's-eye-view by Edmund Prideaux, and shows a very plain quadrangular building with the entrance gateway near the north end of the east range, the "Refectorium" and the Master's Lodge in the west, and the Chapel and Library on the north range. This building seems to have been poorly built<sup>2</sup>, for, in the early seventeenth century complete reconstruction was found necessary. Doubtless the general activity of the age was not without its influence on the Fellows of Clare, for Fuller writes of this period, "Now began the University to be much beautified in buildings, every college either casting its skin with the snake, or renewing its beak with the eagle...."

Reference to Hamond's plan of Cambridge (1592) and to Loggan's (1688) shows that more changes took place in the colleges between that period than since, and a survey of their condition and development in the seventeenth century can hardly fail to throw light on the rebuilding of Clare. The old college stood further to the east than the present one, abutting on the street, and scarcely projecting beyond the west end of King's College chapel, which was the only portion of Henry VI's great plan actually to be carried out. The rest of King's College with the Public Schools stood on the site now occupied by the University Library and the Senate House. Trinity Hall, though in part rebuilt, was in plan much as it is to-day. Dr Caius had added to Gonville in the previous century. He had enunciated his

<sup>1</sup> Further records came to light in 1925, underground. In the course of making the new lavatories in the basement of staircase E, a deep trench for the piping was dug from near the S.E. corner of the Chapel, *via* the main entrance, to E. Clunch foundations were then disclosed beneath both grass plots traversed, i.e. by the Chapel and in the S.E. part of the quadrangle. In the basement wall of the new lavatories, also, walled up windows were come upon, opened up, and utilised for lighting. These probably lit temporary kitchens in the Cromwellian era.

<sup>2</sup> Probably, like Christ's, of clunch.

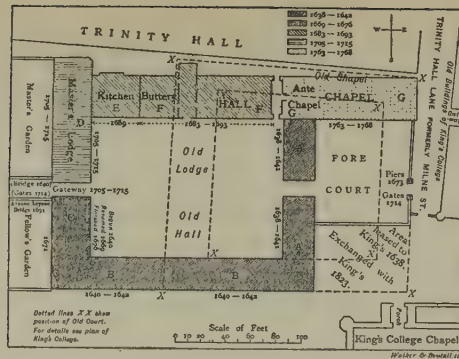
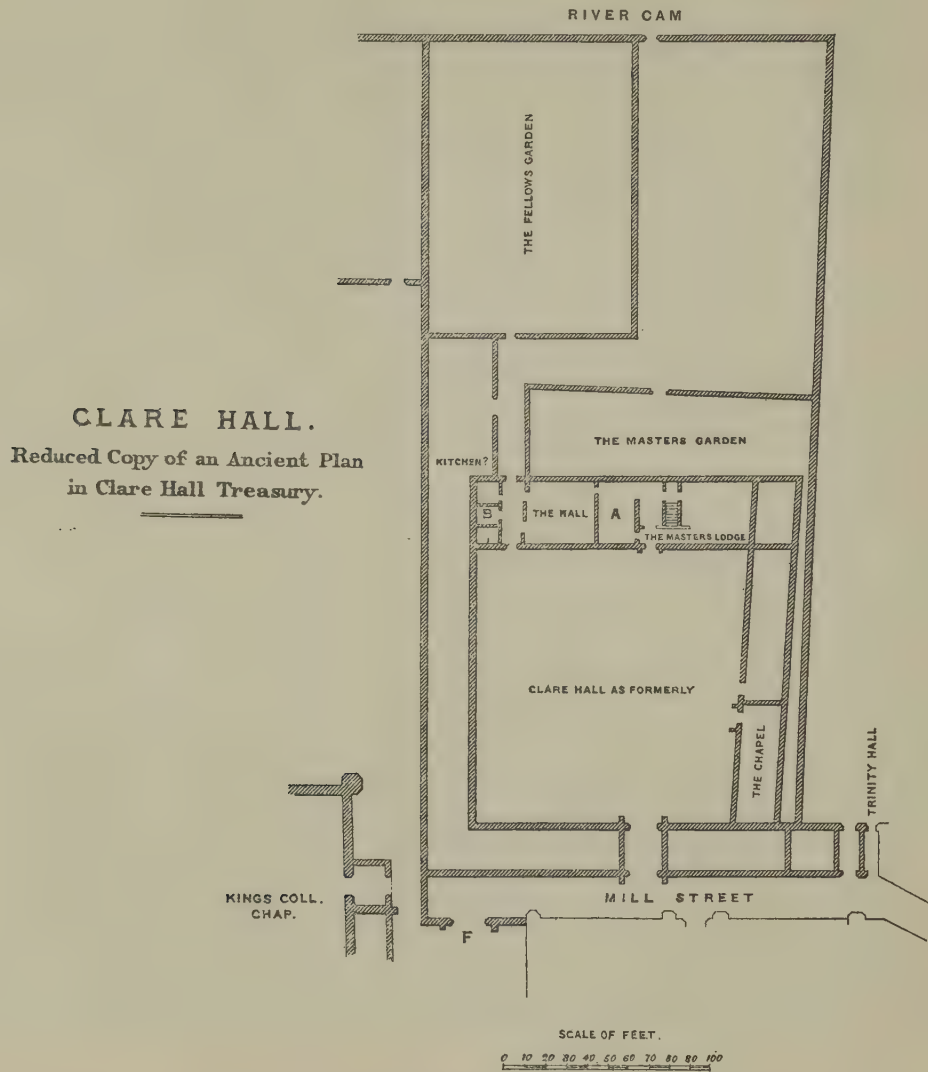


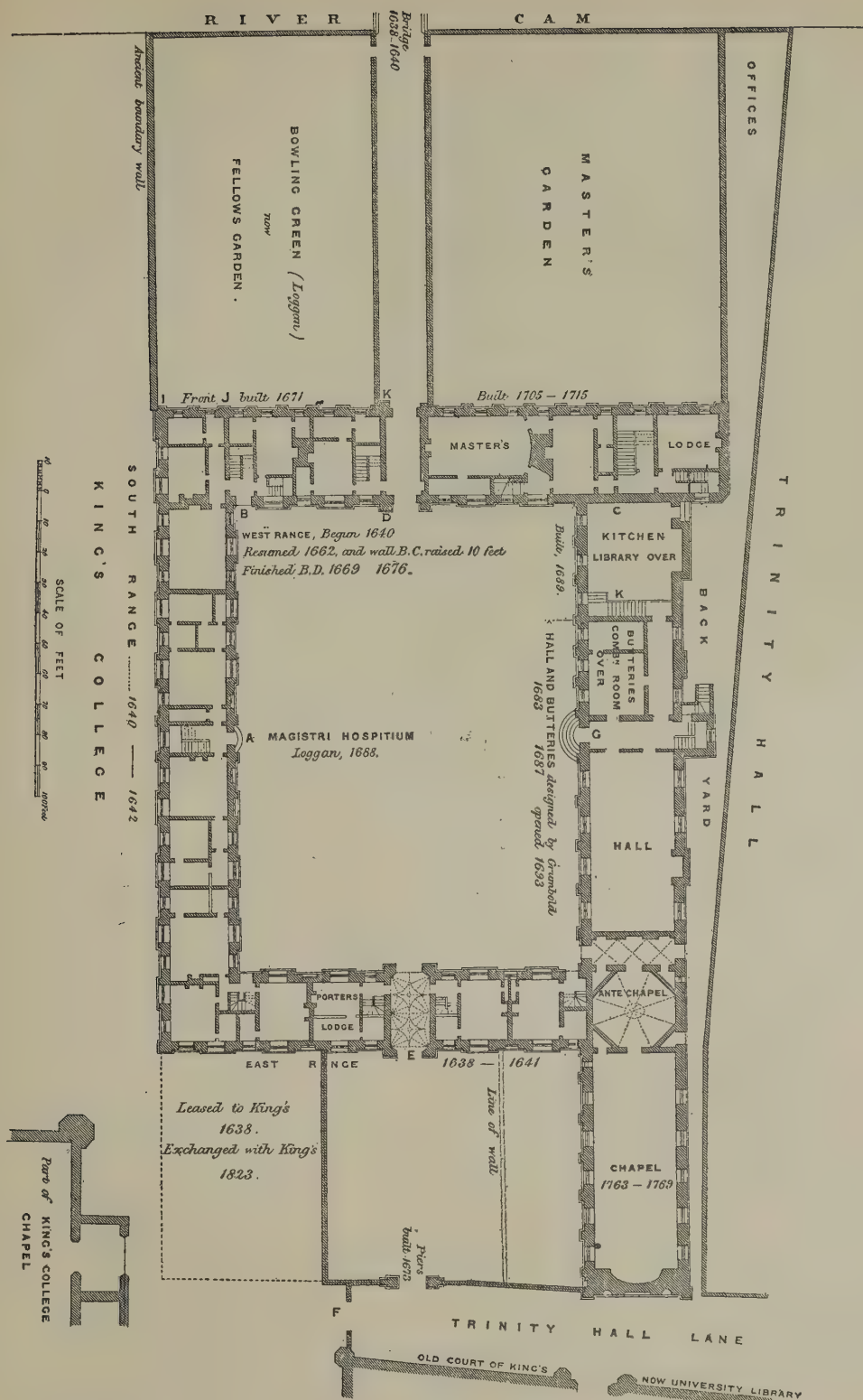
FIG. 44. PLAN OF CLARE COLLEGE.

Reduced by courtesy from the plan on p. 305 of *Cambridge Described and Illustrated*, by T. D. Atkinson and J. W. Clark (Macmillan and Bowes, 1897)



From Vol. IV (Plans) of *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (Willis and Clark), by courtesy of the Syndics of the University Press





From Vol. IV (*Plans*) of *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (Willis and Clark), by courtesy of the Syndics of the University Press

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

objections on sanitary grounds to closed quadrangles and he (or his architect builder) had given to Cambridge its first specimens of Renaissance architecture—that Gate of Virtue with three superimposed orders whose reflection we see at Clare. Hamond's plan, which has the advantage of being drawn in a kind of isometric projection, shows the large but rambling ranges of Trinity College before Dr Nevile transformed them into the Great Court. The second court (Nevile's) was begun in 1611 and completed in 1690 by the building of Sir Christopher Wren's magnificent library. Robert Grumbold was the master mason on that work, and his association with Wren also had an influence on Clare. He was employed at St Catharine's College, also, on the new buildings which were begun in 1673.

Having regard to the traditional Tudor style of the first part of the new Clare, it is hard to realise that Inigo Jones had built the Banquetting House in Whitehall sixteen years before. The "true Italian manner of building" permeated the country but slowly, and Cambridge had a very rich and distinctive tradition of college building. Such structures as Trinity and St John's were, in the main, recent and quite admirable. They had been produced by a school of master builders who might introduce decorative Renaissance elements into their work, but who still conceived the building as a whole in the Tudor way.

But it is improbable that the question of style exercised the minds of the Fellows of Clare at this juncture: they may not have achieved the point of view that realizes style as a product, not as an ingredient of design; but they acted as if they had with happy results, and, rightly, they took thought for the stability of the new structure and even more for its site. They greatly desired access to the west bank of the river and opened negotiations with King's College, to whom it belonged, for the cession of sufficient land to build a bridge and a causeway to enable them to pass to and from the college otherwise than through the town in times of pestilence. In return they offered to set back the new building to its present site and to cede a portion of their land adjoining King's College chapel, at the same time pointing out the advantages to King's of an open space there. Their impatience nearly wrecked this scheme, for, without waiting for a reply, they petitioned King Charles directly. An envenomed if, to us, an entertaining dispute followed. The Fellows of King's protested that they ought not to cede any land held by them in trust, that they did not like open spaces, and that their buildings were sheltered by the propinquity of Clare. But the sovereign decreed that Clare should have its way. A lease was accordingly granted to Clare Hall of the desired land, sufficient to form an avenue and garden; another to King's of the area that lies to the south-east of her Chapel. So the new buildings were set out some 70 feet back from the street, and the foundation stone was laid in May, 1638.



## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

The builder was John Westley, who had done work at Emmanuel and other Cambridge colleges, and it seems likely that he was the designer. But it is equally probable that the "building committee" of the day knew precisely what it wanted. From mediaeval times it had been a common practice for the owner to set down in words a very exact description of the building he wished to erect—as witness the will of Henry VI, in which he gave a verbal plan with dimensions sufficiently exact and detailed to leave no doubt as to the general form and appearance which the buildings would have taken. Such a method provided freedom and limitation in measures very favourable to the development of the craft of building and of design in its restricted sense<sup>1</sup>. Architectural conception of the first rank was to be expected from this method only where an unusually creative imagination had produced the instructions, but it facilitated the smooth and gradual absorption of foreign elements into the native building idiom. Clare College appears to us a characteristic product of such a procedure, and the theory has the advantage of being sufficiently elastic

<sup>1</sup> "It is perhaps not clearly recognised how vital in the design of a college is the design of the ranges of chambers. Historically and socially this is the original and essential element, for without it there would be no college at all, but we are apt to fix our attention on the more imposing parts of the group, and take the rest for granted. The height is all-important, and the ideal is to have two storeys in the wall and an attic with dormers in the roof. Such low-proportioned building actually gives greater spaciousness to the courts which it encloses, partly from the cheering effect of sky and sun, partly by enhancing the height and stateliness of Hall, Chapel and gate-towers. Imagine the Great Court of Trinity hemmed in by a third full storey, and you will see how its apparent size would be diminished. The next best arrangement is two storeys in the wall and a third in the roof with wall-dormers or gablets. This is seen in the second court of St John's, which for all its charm of sober orderliness is just a trifle oppressive, because of the relation between wall and floor. The third possibility, a wall three full storeys high, with or without attic dormers, is always, I think, unsuccessful. It is uncommon among the older courts, but may be studied in Wilkins' New Courts of Trinity and Corpus. Higher than this I do not think anyone has ventured at Cambridge, but a comparison of the four-storey courts and squares of the Temple and Gray's Inn will prove the wisdom of the lower proportion. Of course, in making these criticisms I am speaking only of fully enclosed quadrangles; in detached blocks such as Gibbs' Building at King's it is possible and even advantageous to go higher.

"The grouping of students' chambers has been little changed through the centuries. There are no corridors, but staircases open to the air at the foot. On each landing are two sets of rooms. It is a simple plan, and has some inconveniences, but the corridor plan has more. Corridors produce the illusion, possibly the reality, of hotel or institution life, as anyone who has been privileged to visit Girton will appreciate, and smash to atoms the sense of privacy and independence in the midst of a closely-knit society which is of the essence of the collegiate idea. They are as provocative of song, especially among the unmusical, as bathrooms. They certainly give shelter from the weather, but a considerable amount of time in the University is spent in any case in going out to lectures, meals and games, and the extra exposure involved in friendly visits does not amount to much. After some experiments in the corridor plan I believe that most colleges are returning to the older system as better suited to the needs of Cambridge, and it is pleasant to see it adopted in the new buildings of Clare, where by ingenious planning Sir Giles Scott has made each staircase serve a considerably larger number of rooms.

"If I were asked for an indication of the spirit in which the designer of a college should set about his work, I should answer in these words: 'I will that the edification of my same College proceed in large form, clean and substantial, setting apart superfluity of too great curious works of entail and busy moulding.' That sentence is from the instructions of Henry VI for the building of King's College, and was probably written by the king himself. The document is dated 12th March, 1448, nearly 480 years ago—has the advice been bettered since? Would that some of the architects of the last 100 years had laid it to heart when they came to build in Cambridge!" H. M. Fletcher, *ibid. ante*. [Ed.]

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to accommodate every one's notions. We may also assume that the desire to build as little as possible on the existing garden behind the college stood in the way of the adoption of Dr Caius's three-sided type of quadrangle. At all events it is plain that four ranges were contemplated from the beginning, and of these the east and the south were the first to be built, the former being finished in 1640, the latter about two years after. Temporary quarters for the master were provided in the south range, and the decorated central staircase ["E Stair"] is a relic of this use. Meanwhile the bridge had been built, also in 1640, by Thomas Grumbold, a free-mason, who was also employed on the east gateway. He, at any rate, furnished the design for the bridge and the records shew that he received a modest payment of three shillings on this account.

The rebuilding of Clare is probably the best documented of all such undertakings in Cambridge prior to modern times, and the accounts for this part of the building kept by the Bursar, Barnabas Oley, shed a flood of light on seventeenth century methods. In 1635, three years before even the site was determined, materials were being accumulated. At first bricks were bought: afterwards clay land was rented and bricks were made especially for the college. The earlier practice, however, was subsequently resumed, as is shewn by the following entry:

May 31, 1641. To Wm. King of Ely upon a bargayne of Forty Thousand Ely Bricks to be delivered halfe to Kings Colledge halfe into Clare Hall betwixt this and the First of Aug<sup>t</sup>. next six score to ye 100 and ten Hundreth to ye Thousand Ten poundes.....10. 00. 00.

Stone was obtained from Ketton and Weldon, slates from Colley-Weston, and a supply of "Waynscott, Deale, and Firre" was laid in together with all the paraphernalia of building, as "Ashpoles for levers and hookpinnes." Misfortune befell 20 "fother" of lead purchased in Derbyshire. It sank in its water passage, and two-thirds of the original value was spent on its salvage. John Westley, the builder, was sent to Lynn to enquire about the drowned lead, but it is clear that generally speaking materials were procured without the intervention of the builder and that the structure, like the design, was the result of a combined effort. The work was carried out both by making bargains for particular jobs and by the direct employment by the College authorities of workmen on a daily wage. John Westley the builder, Francis Wright the carpenter, Thomas Grumbold the mason, and others, were so employed.

Clare is built throughout of brick faced with stone, while from a settlement made after the death of John Westley, we find that "He was to sett the Battlements, and to plaster all the needful work in ye Roomes, yt is all, that were not to be wanscoted."

Common plastering was then evidently not a separate trade, and its execution was one of the parts of the work done "upon a bargayne."



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Evidence of the degree of detail customary on such contracts is afforded by the "specification of works" for an earlier building in Cambridge—the Legge Building of Christ's (1618–19). It provides, among other things:

every studdye window to have an iron casement of two foote long.....and all the same lights to be well and sufficiently glased with good Burgundie glasse in small quarries well leaded.

All the partitions shal be made with good and sufficient Oke tymber.....to be plastered over with lyme and hayer workeman lyke; and all the outward dores to be made of Furdeale....

Foundations for part of the west range had been laid in 1641 and materials for the work collected, but when the Civil War broke out these were seized by Cromwell for the fortification of Cambridge Castle, and it was not till 1662 that building was resumed. Slow progress was made; only the inside wall of the proposed west range (to the height of 10 feet) and the central archway being set up in the course of seven years. Between 1669 and 1676 the south half of the west range was built, but the northern staircase only (now south staircase) was completed for occupation. For some reason, which we cannot now explain, eight rooms at the end of the south range had never been finished, when the shell was built. This is shewn by the entry of Dr Blithe's "account of money laid out in 1679 in finishing all the inner work of the twelve rooms belonging to the south-west corner, till which time they were not inhabitable."

The original west range, which had hitherto been the dining hall, being now removed, temporary accommodation for the purpose of hall and combination rooms, etc., was found in this south-west corner during some ten years, till the new hall was ready for use<sup>1</sup>. Although the quadrangle side of this portion retained the general character of the work already built, the substitution of a different style of dormer clearly marks the change. The older dormer had hipped roofs while the new were finished with pediments. No evidence exists to shew who was responsible for the change in design which occurred in the west or river façade.

Robert Grumbold<sup>2</sup>, a nephew of Thomas Grumbold, had taken the place of John Westley as builder, but a Mr Jackson is recorded to have received in April 1669 the sum of £1 for "his journey hither to surveigh ye building." On the whole it seems probable that once more the design was the result of a loose co-operation between Jackson, Grumbold and the college authorities<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Wardale, *College History*, pp. 74–77, and *Clare Association Annual* for 1924, where the evidence in proof of this has been collected, also by Mr Wardale.

<sup>2</sup> See articles in *The Burlington Magazine* (Dec. 1925 and Jan. 1926) on "Robert Grumbold and the Architecture of the Renaissance in Cambridge," by Geoffrey Webb, the author of the excellent articles on the College in *Country Life* for July 3 and July 10, 1926. In the *Burlington* article for Dec., which is mostly devoted to Grumbold's work at Clare, it is remarked that we have in Grumbold a most interesting example of the transition from builder-, or master-mason-, -architect, to the artist-architect, if we may use the latter term without implying any lack of practical intelligence.—[ED.]

<sup>3</sup> "Such a collaboration is interesting in regard to the Renaissance conception of a façade as something almost independent in design of the structure itself, though of course in this case the intercolumniation of

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

The next undertaking was the erection of a new hall and buttery, and in 1683 Robert Grumbold received fifty shillings for drawing a design for this north range. This is the first clear reference to his employment in the capacity of architect, and it was in addition to his activities as a mason and builder. The design shews strong internal evidence of the influence of Wren, particularly in the recessing of the windows in great panels. The motif was a favourite one with Wren and is seen at its best in the river front of Trinity College Library. By 1690 this range was complete, although the finishing of the present library is not recorded, and we know that the old library, over the chapel, was still in use in 1742. The bookcases or "classes" had been made for the old library in the 1620's, and, when they were transferred to the new, suffered little alteration. There still remained to be built the northern part of the west range, destined for the Master's Lodge, and this was not accomplished till 1714.

Despite some inaccuracies due to a prophetic rather than a realistic delineation of the College, Loggan's two views (published 1690) give a very fair idea of its appearance during the first half of the eighteenth century. The old chapel still occupied the site of the present one and it made an awkward junction with the east range whose battlements and pointed windows are clearly shewn in the first view; of the second he remarks, "This (the north end of the west range) has been filled in by the liberal hand of the engraver with the object of giving an impulse to the helping hands of others." The distinctive architectural treatment of its gateway is shewn to extend only one storey in height, and the work was actually not completed till 1707. A record of the west elevation from the same hand would have been valuable, but we know from other sources that the windows of the southern half had a centre mullion and transome, while those of the northern half were of the, then modern, sash description. All the first floor windows of this western façade had heavy stone



BAYS OF THE RIVER FRONT

To illustrate (right) the original design (1671) and the changes made in 1715 and 1815

the pilasters must have been dictated by the man who arranged the internal structure of the building. There is nothing here, however, to suggest any special variations from building by rule of thumb which would require the hypothesis of one master mind." Geoffrey Webb, *The Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1926, p. 316.





THE CHAPEL, EAST END  
Shewing altar-piece by Cipriani

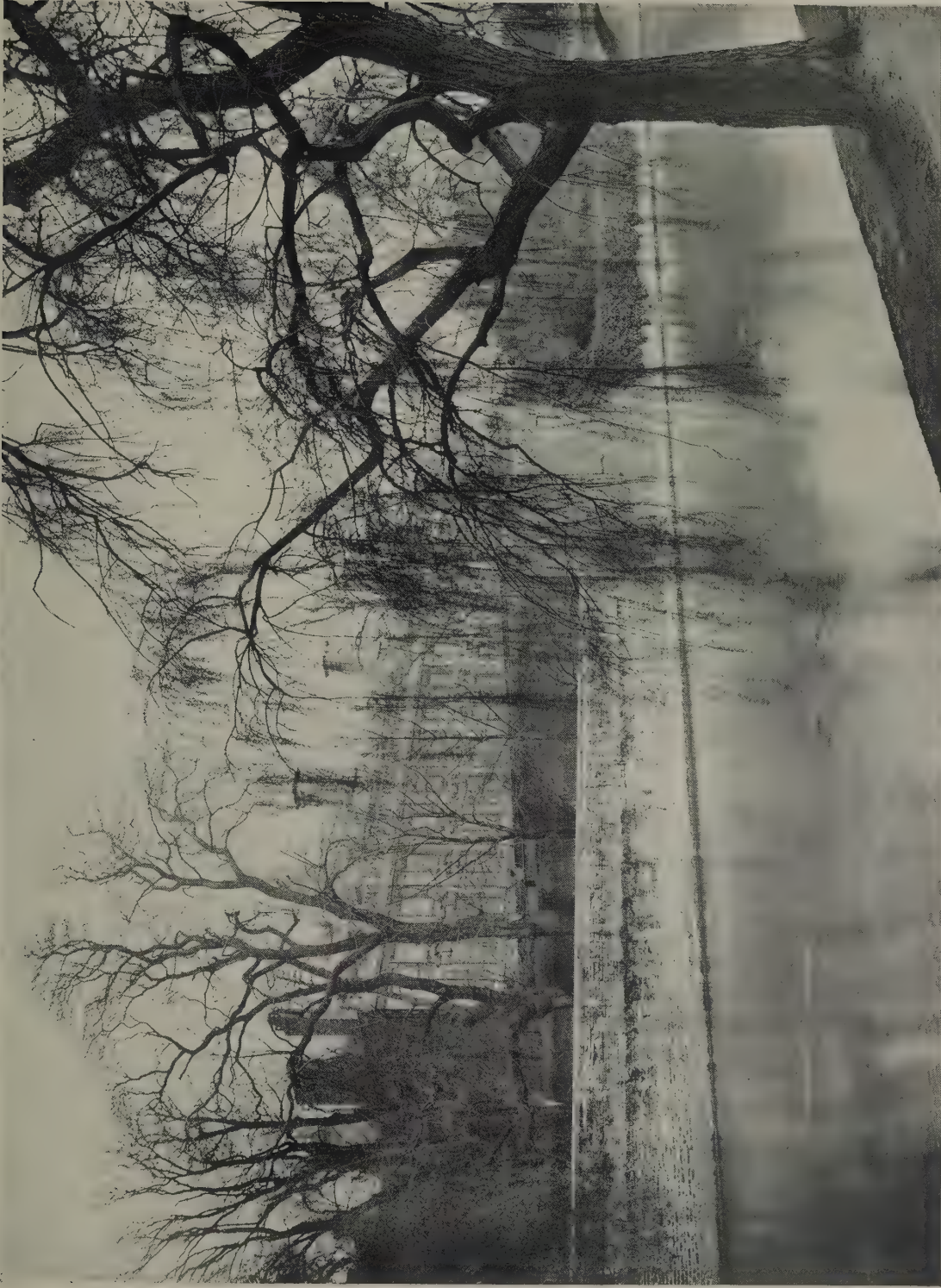
*Phot. Glennett, circa 1890*





WEST FRONT FROM GARRET HOSTEL BRIDGE (NORTH-WEST)

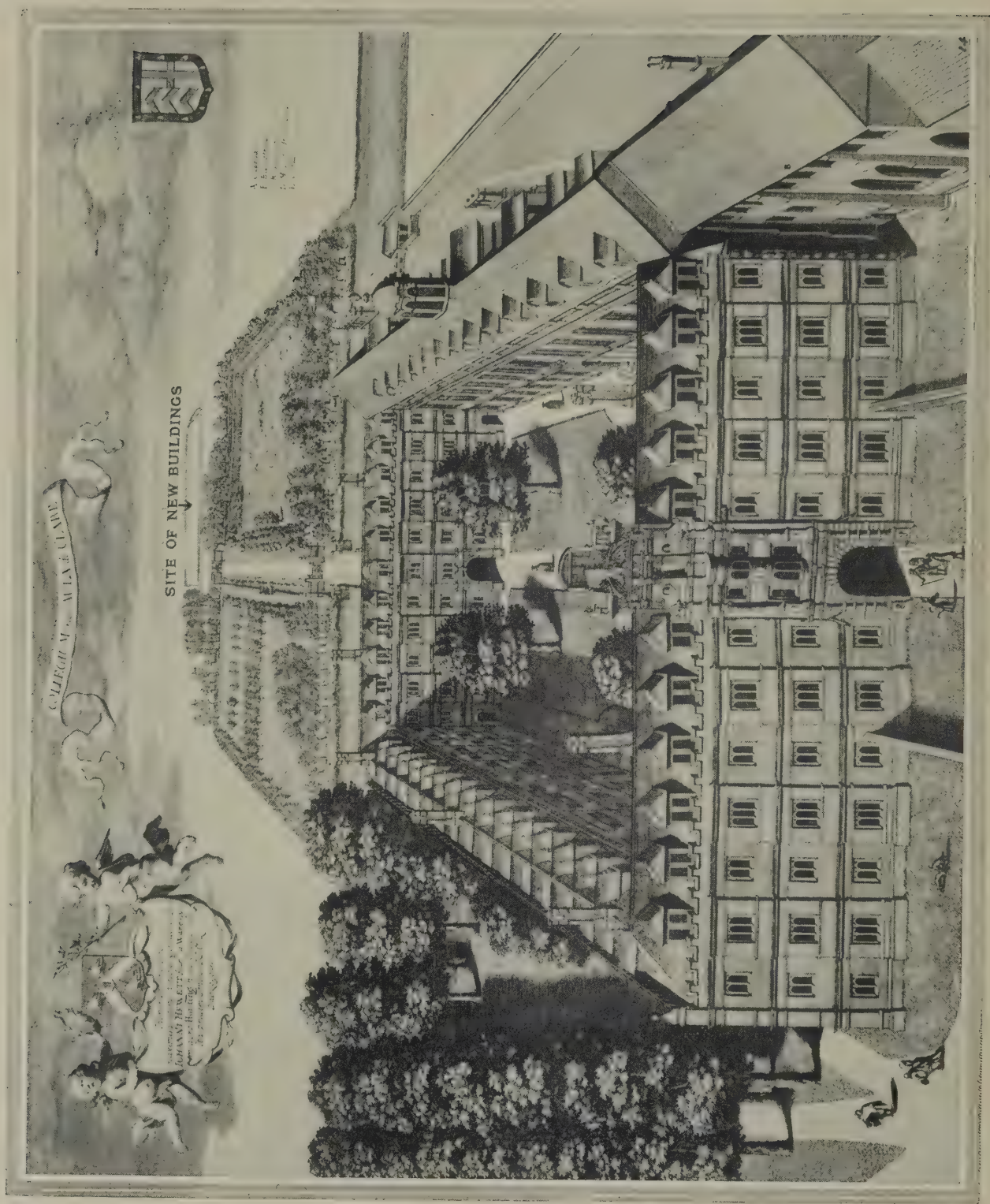




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WEST FRONT FROM WALK IN FELLOWS' GARDEN (NORTH-WEST)





CLARE HALL, circa 1680-90. LOGGAN'S VIEW

As issued in "The Sphere," Feb. 10, 1923



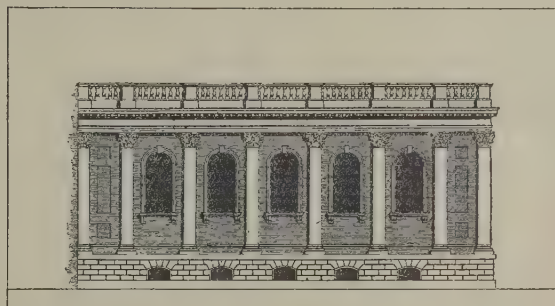
## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

pedestals<sup>1</sup>—a treatment which though less attractive than that which now exists must have tended to bring the west and south elevations into closer relation.

The removal of the battlements (and probably the arch heads of the windows) in 1762, and their replacement by the present balustrades, were of great value in modifying the semi-mediaeval appearance of the older parts of the college, and the rebuilding of the chapel in the following year left the buildings substantially as we see them to-day. The design for the chapel was furnished by Sir James Burrough, an amateur architect who designed the north block, or Fellows' building, of Peterhouse, giving on Trumpington Street next Little St Mary's Church, and whose friends claimed for him the design also of the Senate House. Its execution was supervised by James Essex, a builder, who received £200 on that account. The appearance of the chapel has been altered little since it was finished except by the insertion of some amazing stained glass in the windows. These date from 1870, and least said, soonest, we may hope, obliterated.

In the same year the embellishment of the Hall was commenced under the direction of Sir Digby Wyatt. Among the misfortunes which then befell that apartment was the substitution of plate glass for the old square panes, and the insertion in the lower part of the windows of stone panels pierced by quatrefoils. Those who recall this forbidding arrangement speak warmly of the improvement that resulted when the present painted armorial glass replaced it, and the quatrefoils were dispensed with.

To trace the history of the college up to the present day would lead to the consideration of the new building, which is beyond the scope of this article. But it may be noted that the reconstruction of a part of the north range after the fire of 1890<sup>2</sup> and the recent provision of bathroom accommodation was carried out with an exemplary regard for the personality of the building. It suffered in only the slightest degree during the mid-Victorian age that was so full of dangers to old buildings, and we have no reason to doubt that Clare College, cared for as it is, will, as a building, survive to witness more than another centenary celebration.



<sup>1</sup> These pedestals were removed in 1815. At the same time internal alterations were carried out at a cost of some £4000. Up to this time all the rooms were small (the study being the largest), having been so made with a view to accommodate as many inhabitants as possible.

<sup>2</sup> The facsimile reconstruction of the beautiful Hall-belfry cupola was particularly well carried out by Mr John Whitaker, father of Mr Charles Whitaker, who executed much of the decorative stone-carving on the Memorial Buildings. The woodwork of the belfry had been totally destroyed.

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

In view of the importance of the chapel in the life of a college, and the mis-statements which have been made about the College Chapel, its history demands some special mention. For the historical account that follows we are indebted to Mr J. R. Wardale.

In the Statutes given to us by our Foundress in 1359 we find full directions for the due performance of Divine Service, but there is no mention whatever of a chapel. Yet in the third volume of Papal Letters (p. 269) there is a notice of a licence granted 15 Kal. Mar. 1348 to "Elizabeth de Burgo to build and found a Chapel in the house called *Clare Hall*<sup>1</sup>." It seems that objection had been put in on behalf of the parish church, and the building of a chapel thus delayed; for we find (Petitions from the Papal Register, Vol. 1, p. 473) a petition (from the Master and Scholars) granted pridie Id. Dec. 1363 at Avignon, to have a chapel within their walls, "without prejudice to the Parish Church, etc."

No doubt a chapel was built soon after this licence had been granted.

Dr Donewych by his will, dated 9 April 1392 (Baker's MS. Vol. 2, p. 149), leaves a bequest to the college on condition that "a priest be provided to celebrate Divine Service, in the chapel of the said College or in the parish Church, for his soul, and that of the Foundress, for the space of a whole year."

In 1401 Bishop Arundel's commissioners visited Clare Hall, *in capella eiusdem Collegii*.

There is a long list of *ornamenta capellae*, pp. 9-12, in the old Register; and, between 1452-1455, even in our scanty records it is stated that the college undertook the celebration of masses *in capella*, for four different benefactors.

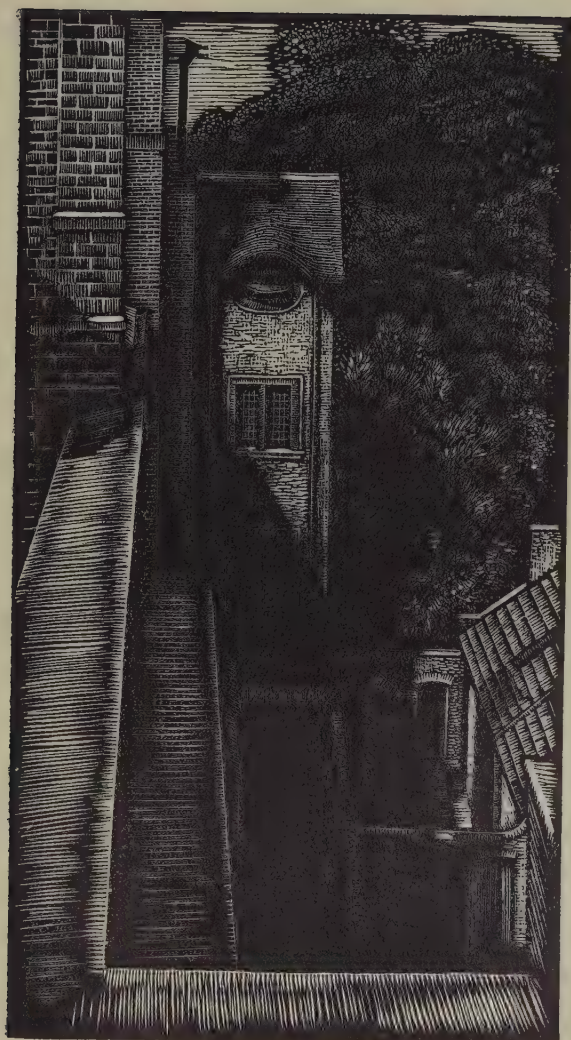
It is strange that, in face of this complete evidence to the contrary, a tradition should be current down to the eighteenth century that the college possessed no chapel before 1535. Probably this is due to the word used by Dr Caius, in his history of the University, "sacellum additum in huius aulae complementum."

The mistake is made by Fuller (p. 86) although indirectly corrected (p. 132); it reappears in Cole's MS (II, p. 2) and is even asserted in the annotations to Dr Vincent's sermon in 1674, in the name of the Master and Fellows.

It may be urged that the original chapel was never consecrated; Rowland Swynborne, at the Papal Visitation in 1556-7, asserted that "the Chapel had never been consecrated," but this must have been merely in order to excuse his own conduct, for it seems incredible that masses for the dead should have been celebrated in an unconsecrated building, and, if both the original and the later chapel were unconsecrated, it is extraordinary that at a later date (between 1715-1728), no less

<sup>1</sup> A license was granted 27 April 1352, by the Bishop of Ely to the Priests of the Society to say Mass within the walls (information communicated by the Rev. C. L. Feltoe, D.D.).





*J. F. Greenwood del. 1925*

GRUMBOLD'S TOWER AND KITCHEN  
PASSAGE FROM CHAPEL LEADS,  
NORTH RANGE





## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

than eight marriages were celebrated in our chapel (Cambridge Parish Registers, Marriages, Vol. III, 134).

This second chapel, put up in 1535, was still left, when the present Court was built in 1638-1714, for want of funds to complete the whole work.

The first important donation towards a new chapel was Bishop Gunning's bequest of £300; no further donations were received for nearly 30 years, and although donations were subsequently made from time to time, the total subscribed was still less than £2000 at the death of Dr Wilcox, the Master, in 1762.

His bequest, however, of over £5000 enabled the work to be commenced.

The dismantling of the old chapel began 14 Febr. 1763, and the foundation stone of the new chapel was laid 3 May following.

Sir James Burrough, Master of Gonville and Caius College, was the designer, but, as he died in 1764, the superintendence was entrusted to Mr James Essex; their names are duly recorded in the tablet over the entrance.

The total cost (£7319. 9s. 11d.) was practically defrayed from subscriptions, the balance paid by the college being less than £250.

The building was consecrated 5 July 1769 by Dr Richard Terrick, a former Fellow, who, after holding the see of Peterborough, had been translated to London.

Cole, in his MS, gives us an interesting account of the chapel built in 1535. We need not here repeat his account; it is enough to cite two details.

He tells us that in the six windows (three in each side) "were formerly the figures of the 12 Apostles, and 4 doctors of the Church curiously painted; but these were broken in the general destruction of such pieces of decency throughout this county in 1643 and nothing but the lowermost half of them remain with the names at the feet of most of them."

The only monument in the chapel at that time was the memorial to Dr Blithe, described in full by Cole, which had been put up in pursuance of a college order of 16 May 1717, but has since entirely dis-



ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE BLITHE  
MONUMENT, ST EDWARD'S CHURCH

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

appeared<sup>1</sup>. It might have been thought that it had been simply removed to St Edward's church, where a monument corresponding to Cole's description is to be seen, but as it appears that that monument already existed there, while the one in our chapel was still *in situ*, one of the two was probably a duplicate. It seems likely that, when the new chapel was built, Blithe's monument was destroyed as out of keeping with the new building, and a fresh one set up to correspond to that on the other side commemorating Wilcox, the latter being erected in accordance with a college order of 25 March 1767.

The only other memorial in the chapel is the tablet recently erected to record the names of those members of the college who fell in the Great War.

The most interesting features of the chapel are the altar-piece, by Cipriani, and the octagonal ante-chapel.

One of the stained glass windows (that in the south-east corner) was the gift of the Rev. Joseph Power, formerly Fellow of the College, and University Librarian; all the others were (by Wailes of Newcastle) put up between 1866-70, the cost being defrayed by the Rev. T. H. Coles, D.D., who died in 1867.

The original organ, which Dr Coles bequeathed, being quite worn out, was replaced in 1910 by the present instrument (built by Messrs Harrison and Harrison of Durham); an opening recital was given, 25 May 1911, by Mr T. Tertius Noble, organist of York Minster.

In *The Burlington Magazine* for Jan. 1926, the architects and architecture of the College Chapel were treated by Geoffrey Webb at considerable length. At the risk of some slight redundancy, and with the kind permission of Mr Webb and of the Editor of *The Burlington Magazine*, we now reprint verbatim the two paragraphs in question:

Grumbold's work covers the middle period of the true Renaissance movement at Cambridge. Before his time the only work which gave any indication of a grasp of the principles of orderly classical design, or of "growing out of" the undisciplined Caroline exuberance of such buildings as the east gate of Clare or the chapel of Peterhouse (1628-32), was the Fellows' building at Christ's College (1640-42). After him there was much building at Cambridge by London architects, notably Gibbs; and at the latter end of the movement two local figures, Sir James Burrough, the Master of Caius College, and James Essex, a local builder-architect, are to be found in co-operation in many building works, chiefly alterations and Italianizing of Gothic courts, etc. The best joint work of these two is Clare College chapel (1763-69), the completion of the rebuilding which we have followed through Restoration times. The credit for this design is hard to apportion. Burrough was an amateur whose finger was in most architectural schemes of his time, notably the library and Senate House schemes, which raised such uproar and ended in Gibbs's fine conception being left a fragment. In this affair Burrough would appear to have been on the side of the angels as against the Duke of Newcastle. There is a building of no great distinction by him at Peterhouse, and a design extant for Trinity Hall, and other smaller and less creditable works too many to enumerate. As to the Clare

<sup>1</sup> Discussed in *Notes and Queries*, VIII. 265 and 351.





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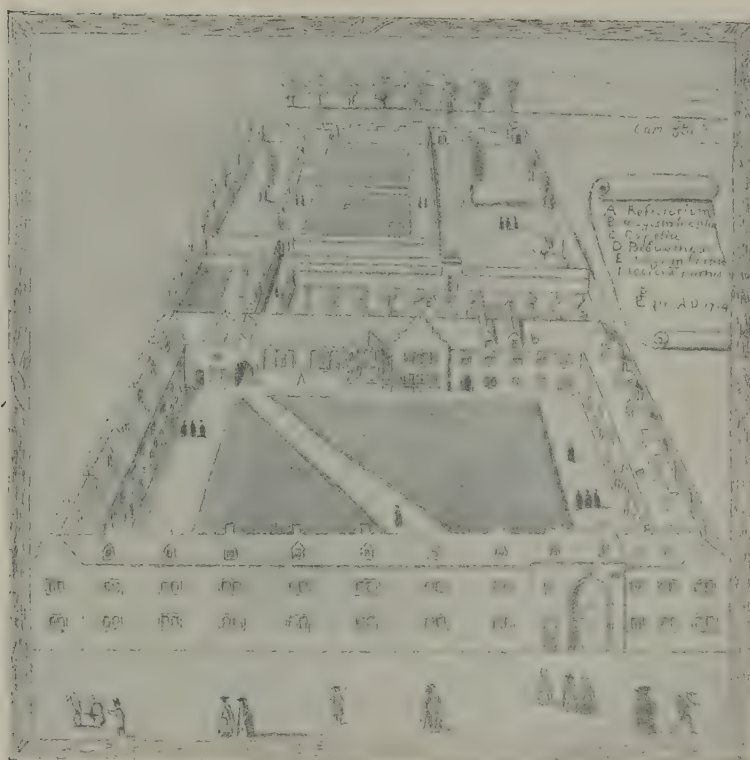
NORTH SIDE OF CLARE

Stairs to Kitchen, Screens, and Buttery, at base of Grumbold's Tower  
*Lozenges immediately above sill of upper window to right have remains of  
horn-'glass'*



MONUMENTAL SLAB OF  
ROBERT GRUMBOLD,  
SOUTH WALL,  
ST BOTOLPH'S CHURCH

*Phot. W. J. Harrison*



TUDOR CLARE.  
PRIDEAUX'S VIEW

(Cf. *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* Vol. VII, p. 197, and *Cambridge Described and Illustrated*) by courtesy of T. D. Atkinson, Esq., and the executors of the late J. W. Clark, Esq.

*Edmundus Prideaux filius Henrici  
de Colchester in hunc munitissimam hanc videri  
Collegij formam transiit.*





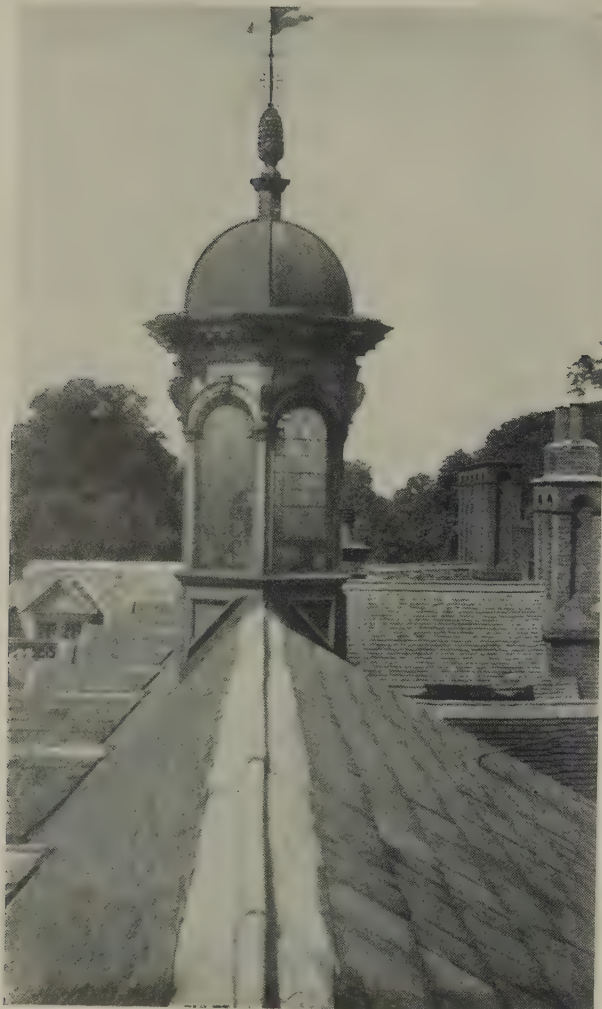
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THE SCREENS AND H STAIR (1688) TO COMBINATION ROOM, ETC.



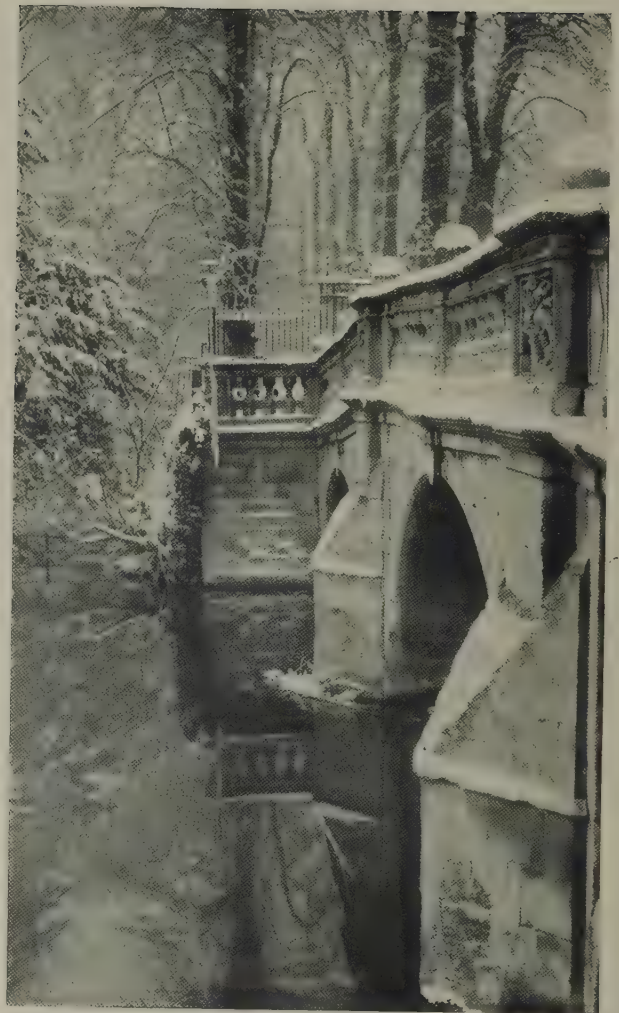
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KITCHENS, SHEWING STAIRCASE, circa 1685-90



*Phot. M. D. F.*

HALL BELFRY AND ROOFS OF  
NORTH RANGE, LOOKING WEST



*Phot. W. J. Harrison*

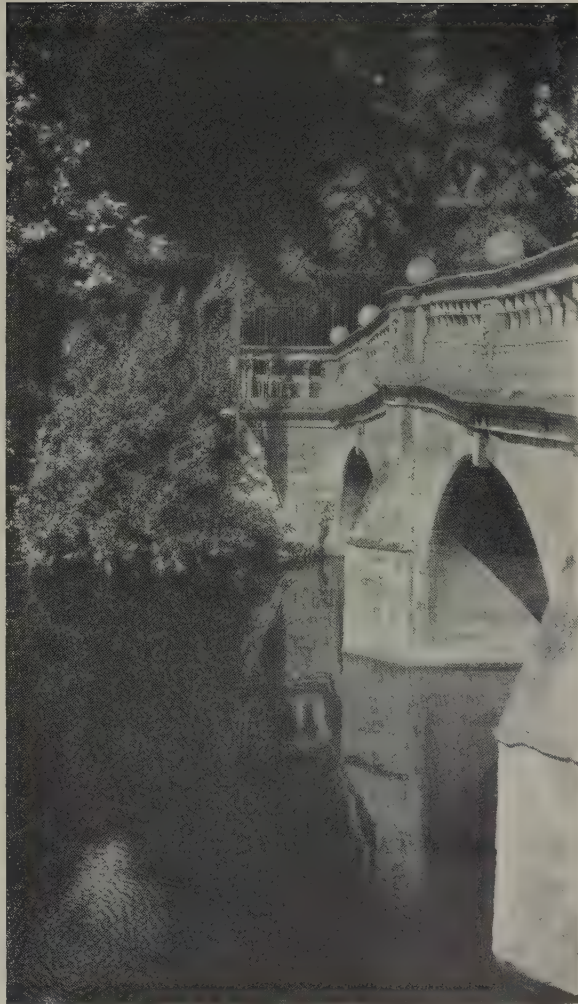
BRIDGE AND AVENUE,  
WINTER OF 1925-6





*Phot. M. D. F.*

CLOCK-BELFRY AND EAST CENTRE  
PEDIMENT TO COURT



*Phot. W. J. Harrison, 1925*

BRIDGE AND AVENUE,  
HIGH SUMMER



*Phot. Clennett*



*Phot. Clennett*

WINTER OF 1885-6





*Phot. Clennett*



*Phot. Clennett*

WINTER OF 1885-6



*Phot. Clemett*

ENTRANCE TO ANCIENT COURT OF KING'S, NOW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

A Mid-Victorian vis-à-vis



## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

Chapel, Burrough certainly gave the original scheme and lived to see the building begun; but on his death in 1764 the work was carried on by Essex, who is recorded in the accounts as being paid not only for superintending the works, but also for making designs and working drawings. Essex was by no means an insignificant country builder. The favourite architect of Horace Walpole, and himself an authority on Gothic building, he was a man of sufficient architectural prestige to meet Burrough on fairly equal terms, though, of course, it was very much to his interest to conciliate in every way the architectural ambitions of such a very influential gentleman.

Externally the chapel is quite unpretentious, and though it is strictly Italian in style, does not appear out of scale or keeping with the typically Caroline east front of the college. The interior is certainly among the most charming compositions of its kind in the University. The octagonal antechapel, with its curious dome and lantern, makes with the barrel-ceilinged rectangular chapel a spatial relation which, if a little theatrical, is at least distinctive and quite in the spirit of the rest of the college, where the multiplicity of features and examples of every phase of Renaissance architecture almost exhaust the possibilities of that style. The effect of this relation of the chapel and antechapel is heightened by the treatment of the walls in regard to colour and the lighting, the woodwork and warmer colour of the walls of the side-lighted chapel contrasting strongly with the grey-white top-lighted octagon. Some unfortunate stained-glass windows in the chapel have still further increased this effect. The whole of this aspect of the design is a good example of that increased preoccupation with calculated romantic vistas through interiors arranged in suites which is characteristic of the later eighteenth-century architects, notably the brothers Adam.

To this the writer has since added the interesting generalisation:

Burrough and Essex were sufficiently in touch with the great world to feel the increasing interest that was being taken in these Romantic interior vistas. The Clare Chapel is "modish" of its date, 1763, and it is in the London mode, too. In this respect it differs from the rest of the building, which is definitely provincial all through (*Country Life*, July 10, 1926).

It may be remarked, however, that the precedent for vista had been set by Grumbold in the design, more than two generations earlier, of the Hall—Combination Room—Library suite. Indeed, there are four components to the sequence, for the grand stair in the Master's Lodge is on the axis of alignment, and from the door between staircase-head and Library one sees, down the whole length of Library, Combination Room and Hall, at the far end of the latter above the dais, the decorative and gilded College arms framed in and completely occupying the doorway, last of three, between Hall-gallery and Combination Room. We know of no other such effect in Cambridge.

In this chapter an atmosphere, at the outset, of generalisation has tended to crystallise, we hope not too inclemently, into a series, more or less particular, of descriptive analyses. We would return, at its close, to generalities again, but now in special epitomising reference to the general effect of the Old Court buildings.

Our pleasure in the effective communication of their enjoyment of these buildings by competent and sensitive authorities may be enhanced by the reflection that the writers quoted were none of them at Clare—indeed, Mr Murray Easton, the chief, if not the only begetter, of this chapter, has been from his youth a practising

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

architect, and was never, till lately, in Cambridge at all. In this sense, then, all our authorities have been 'outsiders,' and as such, we hope, sufficiently impartial.

There are, however, discrepant opinions, though concerned, in the main, with points of detail rather than with the field or fields of architecturally logical relationships. Whether in weight of authority or range of implication, the most considerable criticism we have yet found levelled against the essential harmoniousness of Clare old buildings occurs in the following utterance of Professor Hamilton Thompson, here requoted from pp. 164-5 of the recently published *Cambridge Past and Present* by Brian W. Downs:

Clare thus presents examples of three distinct periods in Renaissance work. The earliest portion is the eastern side of the court with the gateway, the beauty of which cannot be too highly praised. The style is the fantastic Italian Gothic of the period, mixed largely with classical forms; but the work is free from what Mr Ruskin would call insincerity. It is useful to compare it with the chapel of Peterhouse, consecrated five years before this was begun. Its characteristics are those of all the cultured work of the early Stewart period, and have points in common with a building like Ingestre Hall, near Stafford, which has unfortunately perished by fire. The south side is of the same date; the admirable proportions of this side of the court may be seen from the grounds of King's. On the western side is a building of the time of Charles II and James II. Its inner face harmonizes fairly well with the rest, but debased forms, such as the meaningless broken arch, appear. The river front is pure Palladian and the effect of the order of pilasters which runs through the two upper stories is very harsh. The northern face of the court is good, solid, ugly Queen Anne work, which has, of late years, been spoiled rather than improved.

Mr Downs describes this "opinion" as "luminously expressed." Whether, or in respect of what, all of the opinion is itself either luminous or illuminating, he discreetly avoids opining. We for our part may refer our readers, with Delphic discretion, to *The Architecture of Humanism* by Geoffrey Scott, and especially to chapters v to VIII ("Humanist values"). For our second epitome we may call upon a less sophisticated witness, who had, clearly, given his senses *carte blanche* to formulate reaction—one Willis, an eighteenth century undergraduate of Gonville and Caius, whose letters Venn quotes in *Early Collegiate Life*, and whose lucently flowing Cowper-like style bespeaks the intelligent, serious, and sensitive as opposed to the commoner crude student 'lounging' of the time—bespeaks, in fact, a naturally self-cultivable mind.

I must be of opinion [he writes in the first term of residence] that a college life, for one of a serious turn and contemplative disposition, is the most delightful situation imaginable. Since my being here I have taken a view of all the colleges, which has been I think the pleasantest time I ever spent in my life. You would hardly believe it is in the power of art to furnish out such a multitude of noble buildings as you meet with here. Here is every convenience allotted to the Students that can possibly be expected from the benefactions of kings and queens. I do not believe, as good a painter as you are, that you can fancy finer walks than those about Trinity College, or a more magnificent edifice than the college itself....I am however so singular as to prefer Clare Hall to any of the rest. It is neat beyond description; and though it might not at first sight strike your fancy so much as Trinity, yet the more you consider, the more you admire it; whereas the surprise occasioned by a magnificent appearance wears off, after once or twice seeing, and the beauty of it is lost insensibly.



## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

Though, mostly, college adverts are prosaic, one every now and then is, as it were, prosodic. A contributor, for instance, to this book chose Clare as his college on the sole strength of its coat of arms. Another, recently deceased at the age of 82, deserves, and here, a brief biography in the virtue of his choice. C. H. H. Macartney (brother of Mervyn Macartney, already cited in this chapter) was disappointed of an army career, and in consequence of his expressing a desire to enter a university, was taken to Cambridge by his father, and asked what college he would prefer. "They happened to be near Clare, and (attracted no doubt by its beauty) he chose that College, had an interview with one of the authorities, and his name duly entered, without his being (as he said) quite certain of its name<sup>1</sup>!" Such spontaneous and eminent decisiveness was the prelude to a decisive and versatile career. Becoming a scholar, after entry, of the College, he took a first-class in Moral Science, was called to the Bar, travelled all over the United States exploiting its facilities for sport, became a distinguished student of Arabic, an authority on horology, and a chronic exhibitor at the Royal Academy. He had a proper horror of the chapel windows, and was probably only prevented by the War from mulcting himself to provide some substitute.

If the dead can communicate, let us hope he has got in touch with Willis, for whose "steady gazer's eye" Clare rose (though not, it appears, so immediately) "in *luminous* bulk."

One last epitome we may piece together from the first (July 3) of the articles in *Country Life* by Geoffrey Webb. Prosodically, first, he greets "the extraordinary charm" of the building, "both intimate and retiring as you approach the east front from behind the University Library, or well bred and magnificent as seen from King's Bridge"—a charm which "gives it a place alone among the buildings of either University." But this appeal he traces to the working (as, more structurally, Mr Murray Easton has traced it) of fundamentally concrete, prosaic constraints:

"The small, almost regular shaped site in the very heart of Cambridge, quite close to the schools, confined between the river and Mylne Street and soon to be hemmed in even more strictly by Trinity Hall and King's College, has compelled the building of Clare to a compact and more or less symmetrical plan, at any rate for the two rebuildings of which we have certain information. The existing buildings derive much of their peculiar distinction and charm from this enforced regularity and their tucked away appearance under the shadow of more pretentious neighbouring colleges."

<sup>1</sup> Obituary in *The Clare Association Annual* for 1925.

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

Someone (was it Madame de Staël?) said that "architecture is frozen music."

Clare Hall has always likened itself, for us, to a successful sonnet, and Mr Webb's last quoted utterance emboldens us to say so.

Nuns fret not at their convent's narrow room;  
And hermits are contented with their cells,  
And students with their pensive citadels;...

wrote Wordsworth in one of his sonnets upon the sonnet. Old Court's creators did not fret much, it would seem, at theirs, unless perhaps during the rumpus with our lofty neighbour. After that "'twas," surely, "pastime to be bound within the [aforesaid] scanty plot of ground," on which so many have since enjoyed "brief solace" between the rigours of schooldom and manhood. But the harvest of solace has too generally been gleaned rather than garnered, and students have too often been pensive in and not about their citadels, though these may wear their lovely secrets, as one might say, upon their sleeves. So these structures to think in have too seldom been keenly appreciated as constructions to look with thought at, and the majority of sojourners have availed themselves but partially, if at all, of values that are peculiarly recompensive, repaying attention with excitement, and more, and sublimating mere contentment into alert and intelligent enthusiasm.

Shakespeare's

And for they looked but with divining eyes  
They had not skill enough your worth to sing

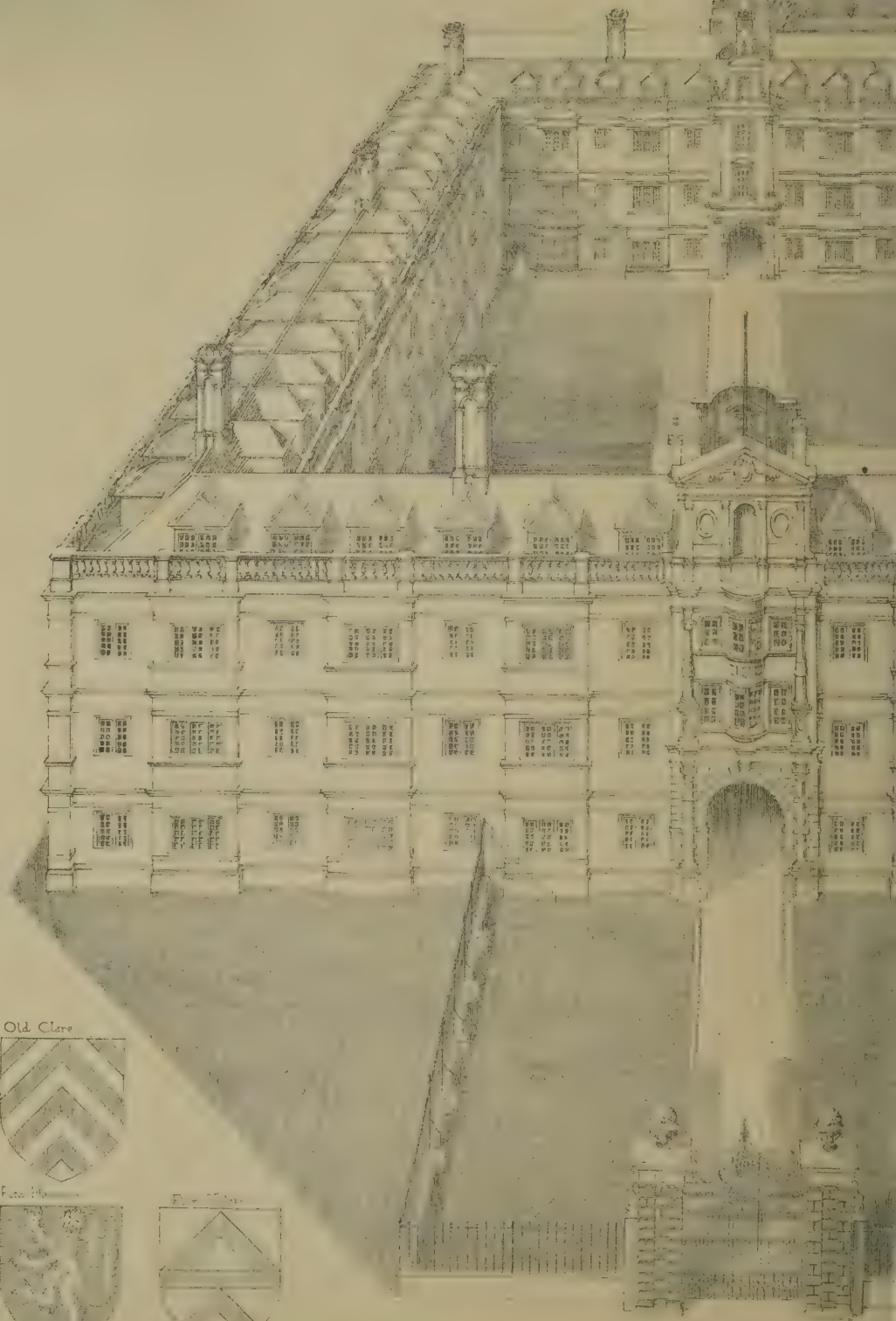
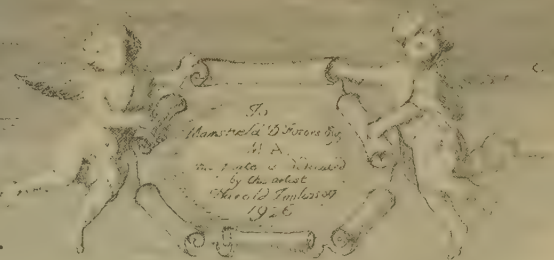
is a relative deprecation that but few Clare men have probably deserved, or, better, earned, for one must first, repeatedly, *look*, and eyes are not at once divining nor art-talk worth while unless its speakers have first really seen, and seen, as Blake has put it, *through* and not just *with* the eye. Mr Wells has written a short story—not, if we remember rightly, about England—entitled "The Country of the Blind," and our short island story might well be told, artistically, by some specialist exponent of mental conjunctivitis. The case is not however so parlous as to preclude some or any of Albion's cities or citadels from developing themselves as havens of encouragement for those who desire, seeing, fully to see, and, so seeing, to read the wordless, neglected language of the plastic arts. Supposing Cambridge were really such a city, and Clare the chief, as it is perhaps the loveliest, of its citadels?







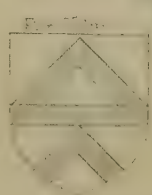
Elizabeth of Clare



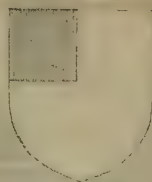
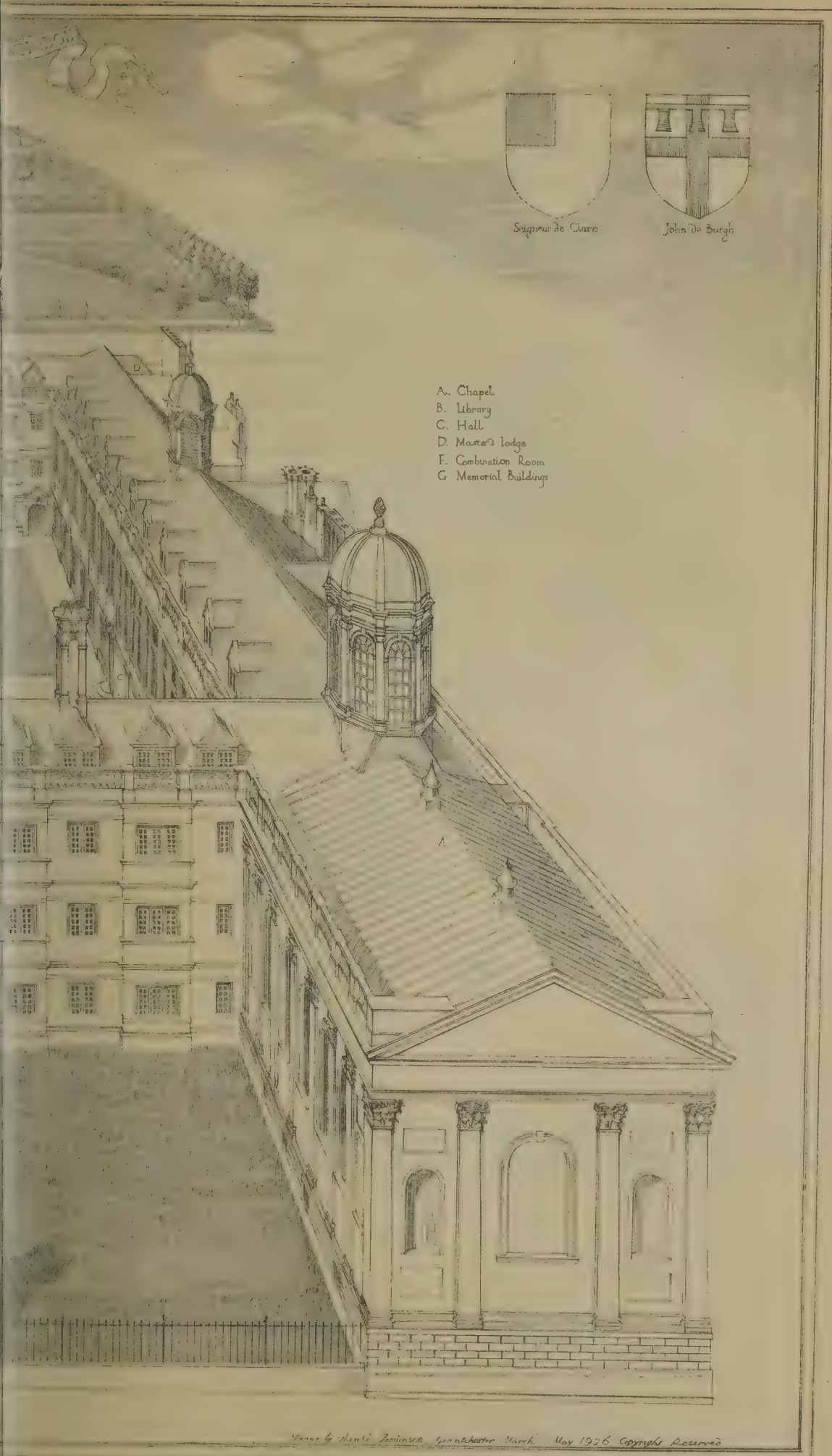
Old Clare



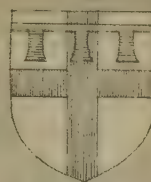
Clare Hall







Saigneur de Claro



John de Burgh

- A. Chapel
- B. Library
- C. Hall
- D. Master's lodge
- F. Combination Room
- G. Memorial Buildings

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# THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

## CLARE HALL, CAMBRIDGE

### *Chronology of the building of the existing College*

		Cost
		£ s. d.
East Range	May 1638—May 1641	5300 12 08
Bridge	Jan. 1638, 9—Nov. 1640	
South Range	July 1640—Xmas 1642	
West Range		
Foundations laid	Jan. 30, 1640-1	2624 02 00
Work resumed, and E. wall raised 10 feet high.	1662	
Work again resumed.	April 19, 1669	
Stone work of southern half finished.	Nov. 20, 1669	
Battlements next the court.	May 1671	
Woodwork and fittings, for north half of work.	1673	
Gates and wells next the street.	1673	
Rooms of S.W. corner filled up for habitation as Dining Hall, Combination Room, etc.	1679	
North Range		
Hall, Combination Room and Butteries, stonework	May 26, 1683—June, 1687	2084 11 06
„ slating	1686-7	
„ plastering	1687-1689	
glazing, wainscotting		
Kitchen and Library begun	April 29, 1689	1321 02 08½
Formal opening of Hall.	April 20, 1693	
Walls and Avenue planted	1691	138 01 07
West Range, northern half, and Gates		
Stonework.	May, 1705-1707	1508 03 11
Fittings.	Feb. 1709-1715	2501 15 09½
Battlements on S. and E. sides of Court replaced by balustrades	1762	
New Chapel.		1763-1769
Windows in S. half of W. front altered	1815	

### *Summary of Total Cost*

East Range, South Range, Bridge	5300	12	8
West Range	6634	1	8¾
North Range	3405	14	2½
Avenue and walks	138	1	7
	<u>£15478 10 2¼</u>		

Except for one amendment this table of costs is taken from *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton*, by the late Robert Willis, M.A., F.R.S., Vol. I, p. 117.

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

### CLARE COLLEGE AND ITS ENVIRONMENT IN PLANS OF CAMBRIDGE

This note is based on *Old Plans of Cambridge, 1574-1798*, by J. Willis Clark and Arthur Gray, published at Cambridge 1921.

This book reproduces plans by Lyne 1574, Braun 1575, Hamond 1592, Fuller 1634, Loggan 1688, and Custance 1798.

#### *Lyne's Plan, 1574*

Lyne gives in his plan an historical account where he says "Henry the Third, King of England, about the year 1265 fortified Cambridge with a ditch and gates. . . . He would then have girt it about with a wall once more, had not Gilbert, Earl of Clare, occupied London in his absence, so that he was compelled to take steps to avert a fresh disaster."

The Gilbert referred to was the father of our foundress.

Lyne gives the existing Hostels and their sites including Borden Hostel (a law hostel belonging to Clare), marked "Q" near St Michael's, and Garret Hostel "E", later incorporated with Trinity, but surviving in the name of the Bridge next Clare. He shows the river below Clare divided by an island named "Garret Ostell Green<sup>1</sup>." The college itself is shown in the plan as a single court with no distinguishing features. Lyne names the street in front of both Clare and Queens', "Mill Street." The Mill was an important feature of all mediaeval towns, and Clare in 1226 was built on the road leading to the "King's Mill." Henry VI in 1441 acquired the land opposite Clare, with the land on both sides of the street to the south, for his new foundation of King's College; building its chapel across the street itself. This had the result of putting Clare on a blind road. Lyne shows the approach from the east as by "University Street" (made about 1550 by Archbishop Parker from St Mary's to the Schools), and a lane past King's to Mill Street called "Henney" (which originally continued to the river through the site of Trinity Hall). A comparison between the angler opposite Clare and the college itself is prejudicial no doubt to Lyne's reputation for accuracy, and gives pause to the impulse to claim as an *alumnus* of Clare the successful "lander" of a fish which, compared with King's Chapel, is embarrassingly large. Anti-feminists will notice that thoroughbreds are shying at the idea of Newnham.

<sup>1</sup> On this once island ground Trinity College Library was built. The ditch called "King's Ditch" or "Common Ditch," which was the islet's eastern boundary in the fourteenth century, had ceased to be navigable by 1423, when Michael House obtained leave from the corporation of the town to dig another ditch, to enable them to bring fuel, etc., to their House by water.



## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

### *Braun's Plan, 1575*

This plan (Chap. III, Plate VII, Fig. 2) is copied from Lyne's, with some clever alterations, so as to give it, at first sight, the appearance of an original work: Clare Hall is represented much as it is by Lyne. Braun's plan was published at Cologne 1575, in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, with a description by William Sone or Zoone, M.A. 1549. There is in the College Library a copy of this famous volume, with all its innumerable plates, showing bird's-eye views of British and European cities, hand-coloured.

### *Hamond's Plan 1592*

The only known copy of this important plan is in the Bodleian Library. The author, John Hamond, who describes himself as "ex aula Clarensis," is probably to be identified with John Hamond of Clare, B.A. 1575-6, M.A. 1579. The ornamentation shows the arms of the founders of colleges including "4. A College, or Hall of the University, founded by Richard Badew, Chancellor of the University, in the reign of Edward the Second 1326."

The arms are given as "three eagles on a bend cotised."

"6 College or Hall of Clare, founded by Dame Elizabeth de Burgo, Countess of Clare, University Hall aforesaid with its revenues being included in her foundation in the reign of Edward the Third 1340."

The present arms of the college are shown. Hamond, whose plan is more accurate than his predecessors, shews the "King's Close" across the river extending to Garret Hostel Bridge. In 1638 King's exchanged the north part, "the Butt Close," with Clare for ground near the King's Chapel. Hamond shows clearly Mill Street, University Street, the lane from it to the Caius "Gate of Honour," and the Henney thence to Mill Street.

The delineation of college buildings in the plan is important as all have vanished. The college is shown flush with the street and with Trinity Hall. (In 1638 it was set 70 feet further west.) The south range was inconveniently near King's Chapel. The west and north ranges are as rebuilt 1525-35, after the fire of 1521. The other ranges, distinguished by their taller chimneys, are probably the original college. Entrance is by an arch in the eastern range. The chapel is at the north-east corner of the court (its present site); Hamond shows chambers above it (as in Cole's print of the old chapel, 1742). The Master's Lodge, marked by large windows, and the Hall, with an oriel and three large windows, is in the west range opposite the gate. A door at the south end of this range marks the screens, and the kitchen is at the south-west corner. From the screens a passage goes to a green by the river,

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD COURT

with two outhouses. The Fellows' Bowling Green occupies the rest of the space. Hedges divide the walks from the grass plots in the court.

### *Fuller's Plan, 1634*

A conventional reproduction of Hamond's.

### *Loggan's Plan, 1688*

Loggan published his plan in *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, 1688, in which he gives a picture of the College. As some of the buildings he shews were not existing in 1688, he probably worked from an architect's design.

Of the existing college, the east and south ranges date from 1642. The west, 1669-1705, was unfinished when Loggan drew his plan. The north, 1683-93, was building. Loggan shows the bridge, built 1642, leading to Butt Close, now "Clare Hall Meadow," and he calls the space in the backs opposite the gate "Clare Hall Green." He shows the Fellows' Bowling Green by the river still existing, but reduced in size by the moving of the college west. The trees in the court shewn in the plan are also in the picture, but their accuracy is doubtful. The old chapel is shewn.

### *Custance's Plan, 1798*

The ground plan of the college as shown here is practically unaltered at the present day (cf. Chap. III, Plate XII, Fig. 3).

Significant portions of Hammond's, Lyne's, Fuller's and Loggan's maps have been used, in that order, for the end papers of this book, reproduced on a large scale to justify further special printing as wall-decorations.



CHAPTER IV  
THE HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE  
AND ITS ALUMNI





## THE HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

The scattered scraps of information which we possess about the College for the first two centuries of its existence, however attractive to the antiquary, would only weary the general reader; a very brief sketch of the early history will suffice.

The first question of interest that arises is one which, we think, will never be definitely settled—was Geoffrey Chaucer ever a member of our College?<sup>1</sup>

That he knew Cambridge in a way which suggests that he was at the University, seems pretty clear from the *Reve's Tale*, with its oft-quoted lines:

And namelich ther was a grete Collegge  
Men clepen the *Soler-Halle* Cantebregge.

The meaning of *Soler-Halle* is however disputed. It has been by some identified with Garret Hostel; but it is more probable that it means Scholars' Hall; and, if so, it naturally calls to mind our original title of *University Hall*.

It is argued that the choice of a College, when so few were founded, was then very limited, and that Chaucer's connection with our Foundress would naturally suggest his being a member of the College which she founded. It seems pretty certain that Chaucer was a page, about 1356–9, in the service of Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence, who married our Foundress' grand-daughter (see Miss Spurgeon, *Chaucer*, Vol. I, p. 113, etc.). If this be so, he must have been at Cambridge, if at all, not earlier than 1353, when (including Michael House and King's Hall) there were eight colleges, at any one of which he might have been entered. Chaucer's father was a court vintner and he might equally well have obtained a place for his son at King's Hall, founded by Edward III in 1337. It must not, however, be forgotten that our Foundress directed that the "poorest boys" that could be found were to be chosen, and the menial services then demanded of the scholars could not have rendered the position attractive.

It should not be forgotten either that numerous hostels also existed at the time for the accommodation of students. How many there were at any given time it would be hard to say, but at different times well over a hundred existed, one of these in particular, Borden Hostel (about which more is known than about any other), was under the patronage of Clare; doubtless it was the more well-to-do students who entered these hostels, and it is quite possible that Chaucer was attached to one of these—possibly to Borden Hostel itself.

<sup>1</sup> It is only fair that he should have been. His outstanding contemporary, Langland, is claimed by our Oxford co-sexcentenarian, Oriel College.

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

The history of this hostel may perhaps be of interest; it was originally attached to St John's Hospital (afterwards St John's College) but very early came into the possession of Clare. It stood in Trinity Street, at the south-west corner of Green Street; we first read of it as being sold by Robert Spalding, "a Fellow on the first foundation": this was apparently to the Prior of Ely in 1350. It seems probable that when his monks in Cambridge were dislodged from their own residence, to make way for the foundation of Trinity Hall, the Prior purchased Borden Hostel for them to live in<sup>1</sup>; at any rate the hostel was surrendered by the then Prior of Ely to Henry VI in 1446 and restored by him to Clare in 1448 as one of his several benefactions to our College, or in exchange for St Austin's Hostel (see below); it remained with Clare for nearly a century, being finally sold in 1539.

Another Hostel, which was placed under the patronage of Clare about the middle of the fifteenth century may also, in this connection, be mentioned. It forms a link between Clare and Christ's College.

Education throughout the country was then in a deplorable condition and a petition was presented by Rev. William Bingham, Rector of St John Zachary, London, to the King for a license to make over to the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall a hostel which he had recently founded for a Proctor and 24 scholars to study grammar, and called *God's House*.

The license was granted 13 July 1439. "God's House" (or "Bingham's Hostel") was built nearly in front of Clare where the King's ante-chapel now stands. It was surrendered by Bingham to Henry VI for his new college, and a fresh site in St Andrew's Street was granted to him (1446); the connection with Clare still continued for a few years; finally Christ's College was founded on the site by Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, in 1505.

Another Hostel, St Austin's Hospital, which stood where now is King's lawn, also belonged to Clare, and was sold to King Henry VI; but of this we know very little.

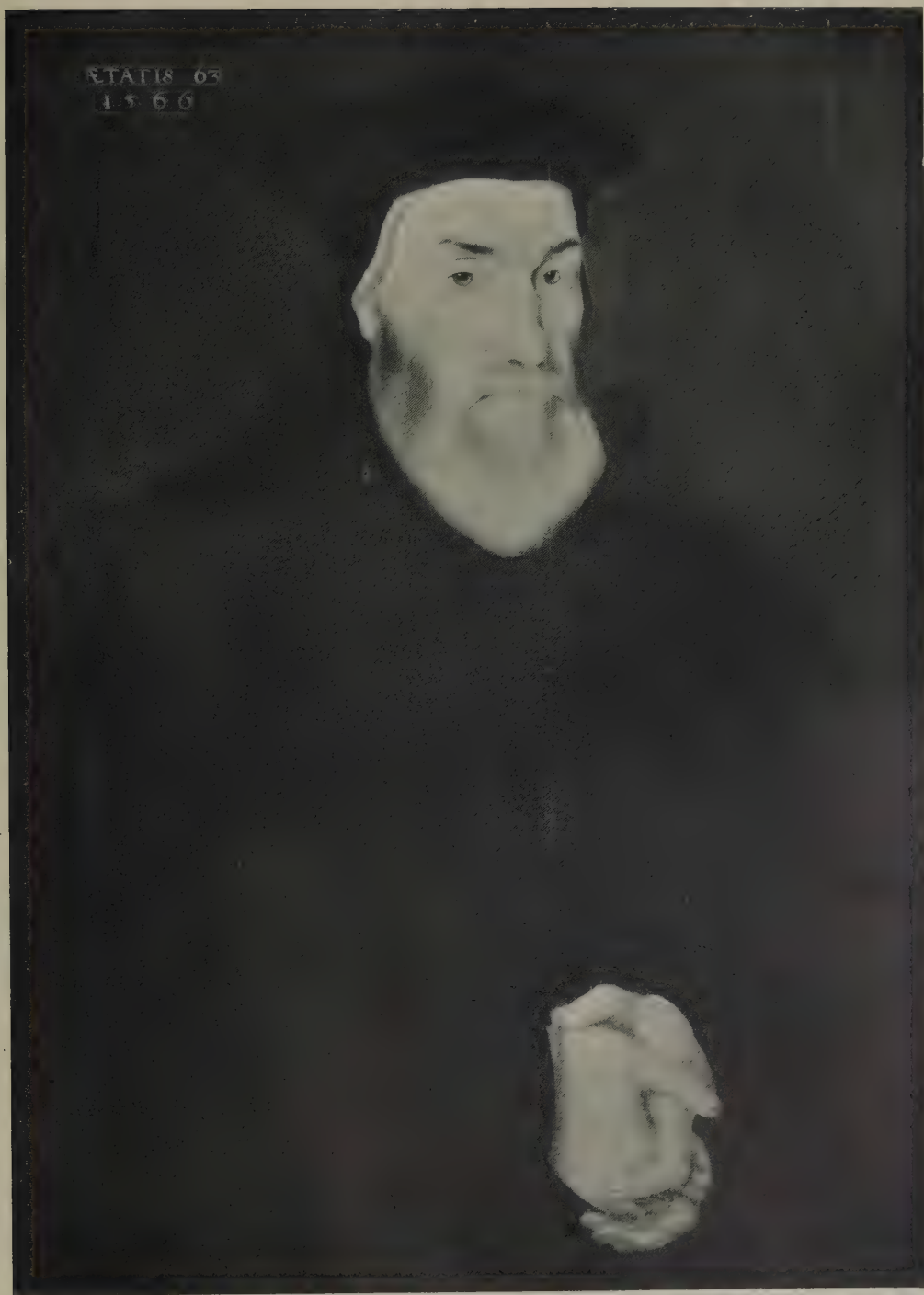
Only one other incident need be referred to during this period—a long continued struggle on the part of the University for independence of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ely, only terminated about 1430 by "the Barnwell Process," whereby the independence of the University was secured.

It was the Master of our College, Dr John de Donewych (Master of Clare 1371–1392), who was the protagonist in this struggle, so important in its results to the University in the early days of the Reformation.

John de Donewych was a man of mark; he was Canon of St Paul's and Collector of the King's Tithes, and three times Chancellor of the University, in 1362 (when

<sup>1</sup> Stokes' *Mediaeval Hostels*, pp. 9, 10.





*After the anonymous painting in the National Portrait Gallery*

NICHOLAS HEATH, ? 1501–1579

Bishop of Rochester, 1539; Bishop of Worcester, 1543;  
Archbishop of York, 1555; Lord Chancellor, 1556



Thus while hee liud, graue Latimer was seene,  
I meane his outward part; and that within  
May heere bee viewd, aboue you view his face,  
But in his Booke beould his inward Grace



HUGO LATIMERUS Mortuus.  
CHRISTUM continuis Precibus LATIMERUS adorant.  
Pro Perâ moritur religione senex

HUGH LATIMER, 1492(?)–1555; Bishop of Worcester, 1535–1539  
From engravings in the portfolio collection of the National Portrait Gallery





Thomas Cecil First Earl of Exeter,

1542-1622, By-founder



*From the brass in Croxton Church, Cambs.*

EDWARD LEEDS, *Mag. Coll.* 1560-1571



## FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

his election was disputed) and again in 1371 and 1374. In this capacity he refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Bishop of Ely; the case was given against him, it is true, but his successors continued the fight, till it finally ended in victory for the University.

We need not here dwell upon the various gifts of plate, etc. received during this period by the College; but more important Benefactions deserve a passing notice.

Henry VI granted in 1446 a license to acquire fresh lands, etc. to the value of £40 a year, himself bestowing on the College (14 July 1446) two tenements in Chesterton, and another in the parish of St Edward's in Cambridge (on the site of the house still owned by the College on King's Parade). Of the recovery of Borden Hostel we have already spoken.

Richard III according to Parker (*Sceletos Cantabrigiensis*) also claimed to be a patron of Clare, as being descended from the Foundress. Fuller discredits this; "but if," he says (p. 86), "no better patron to this house than protector to his own nephews, his courtesy might well have been spared."

At any rate there is no trace of any benefaction from him.

So far we have been concerned with domestic matters only. The next, the sixteenth, century was to see in the University the centre of a movement profoundly affecting the religious life of the whole country.

As Latimer, a Fellow of our College, was one of the early leaders in this movement of reform in Cambridge, and Edmund Natures, Master from 1514 to 1530, was a staunch supporter of the old régime—"a rank enemy of Christ," as Fox terms him—it can hardly have been a very peaceful time in Clare.

Natures was, obviously, in his day a power in the University, where he held the office of Vice-Chancellor no less than four times during the sixteen years of his Mastership, in 1517, 1520, 1525 and 1526, a record, we believe only twice exceeded, and in one of these cases by another and, if we are to credit Fox's estimate of Natures, a very different Master of Clare.

His successor, John Crayford, was also a man of character. From Caius' History, and Fuller (p. 215) he appears to have had a violent temper, but nevertheless to have succeeded in forcing himself into prominence. "Oxford antiquary" (says Fuller) "accounts him one of the ornaments of Cambridge, who at first was bred in Oxford." He was (according to Caius) expelled from Queens', but subsequently became a Fellow there, and was proctor in 1521. He was a Canon of Cardinal College, at Oxford, 1525, and was elected Master of Clare, 6 July 1530. In 1534 he was elected Vice-Chancellor, being the first Vice-Chancellor to be elevated to that office before being a doctor—and in 1535 proceeded D.D. being again Vice-Chancellor for 1535. He resigned the Mastership of Clare in 1539 and was elected

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

Master of University College, Oxford, in 1546. He appears to have been a Canon of St Asaph in 1534, and in 1539 a Prebendary of St Paul's and Archdeacon of Berks in 1545.

Fuller calls the years of his Vice-Chancellorship the "critical years of Cambridge, on the alteration of the Pope's power therein," and suggests that Crayford was "chosen of purpose with his rough spirit to bustle through much opposition."

Caius (in his *Antiquities of the University of Cambridge*) says of him that he was a "better gladiator than Vice-Chancellor," and the expression seems fully justified by the story which he tells us of him; on the occasion of a disturbance he "cut off one man's hand, and cast another out of the regent-house" by main force.

Royal Commissions are apt to disturb the even tenor of University life and the Commission of 1548 was no exception; it proposed a change, for the rejection of which we are to-day profoundly thankful.

The study of Civil Law having greatly declined, it was proposed to dissolve Clare and Trinity Hall; the existing Masters and Fellows of the dissolved Colleges were to be pensioned, and the endowments of both foundations bestowed on a new one, to be erected on the same site or elsewhere, for the exclusive study of Civil Law; apparently the Fellowships in other Colleges held by Law Fellows were to be abolished to counterbalance the loss of the Divinity Fellowships of Clare.

The Commission commenced its labours in May 1549; but the project met with stubborn opposition. Fuller (p. 242) tells us that Stephen Gardiner, Master of Trinity Hall, "civilly declined his consent, and for crossing the Protector herein, (and other misdemeanours) was soon after outed of his Mastership of Trinity Hall." (We suspect that the "other misdemeanours" were the more important part of the charge.)

The Master and Fellows of Clare Hall were no less recalcitrant. The letter of the Protector to Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, who was one of the Commissioners, refers expressly to their obstinacy. (Cooper, *Annals*, II, pp. 35, 36.) The joint opposition proved effectual, and the scheme came to nothing in the end. Ridley himself begged that it might be abandoned, out of consideration for Latimer. "Alexander," he said, "had spared a city for Homer's sake" and "Latimer far passed by that poete." (Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, II, 136.)

Evidently the danger had been great and Rowland Swynborne, the Master, and the Fellows of Clare had determined at least to secure their personal interests: they divided up amongst themselves the College plate. Baker (MS, 2 p. 161) tells us,

When it was thought that not only the Foundation and Statutes of Clare Hall should be altered, but also the Master and Fellows thereof displaced contrary to equity and conscience, there was a division of plate made by the said Master and Fellows, whose names hereafter follow....The Fellows had for every one of their parts (as it is thought) about the value of 10<sup>l</sup>. The Master (Rowland Swynborne) had all that remained in his keeping, the which is now restored again by his executors.



## SIXTEENTH CENTURY: ROWLAND SWYNBORNE, *MAG. COLL.*

Some years later, on 21 November 1557, Cardinal Pole in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads directed, among other things, that

The Vice-Chancellor, associated with other grave and wise Masters of Colleges, do visit in our name, especially Clare Hall, and see what disorder hath been in that house, what alienation hath been made of the plate, and other things pertaining to the house, and so to use such reformation therein as shall be thought convenient according to justice and the statutes of the said house. (Lamb, *Documents &c.*, p. 274.)

Three days later, Rowland Swynborne's executors refunded the plate in question. There is in our oldest Lease Book a copy of an acknowledgment (24 Nov. 1557), on the part of Thomas Bayly, Master, and the Fellows of Clare Hall, of the receipt of one standinge cup gylte with the cover gylte, one bowle of sylver parcell gylte, with the cover parcel gylte, and vii spounes of sylver parcell gylte, which sayde parcells of playte sometyme were belonginge to the said College.

Although the design of amalgamating the two Colleges into a single new College had failed, the Commission of 1549 ejected Swynborne from his Mastership. His successor John Madew was, four years later, himself removed on the ground that he was married (*quia uxoratus*), and Rowland Swynborne restored by virtue of letters from Stephen Gardiner in 1553.

Although Swynborne duly subscribed to the Roman Catholic Articles shortly afterwards, a deputation was sent by Cardinal Pole, as the Pope's legate, to visit Cambridge and root out heresy. The commissioners visited Clare, 28 January 1557, and the story gives us a striking sample of the domineering conduct of Papal Representatives in those days.

Nicholas Ormanet, who headed the deputation, was much displeased at the absence of the Sacrament in the chapel. Swynborne excused himself on the plea that the chapel had never been consecrated, thus making bad worse. Ormanet, after extorting from him the confession that he and others had sung Mass there, exclaimed: "O thou wretched olde man, thou hast cast both thyselfe and them in daunger of the grevous sentence of Excommunication." He then questioned him about the benefices which he held, and why he lived so far and so long from them; "Swineborne was so astonished at this so sodaine disquietness of Ormanet, that being more disquieted himselfe he was not able to answer one worde." (Cooper, *Annals*, II, 121.)

Swynborne indeed escaped "the grevous sentence of excommunication" but this distressing experience probably hastened his death, which occurred in the early autumn following.

An interesting sidelight is thrown upon this period by the covenants drawn up between the College and Mrs Elizabeth Worlych(e), of Potton, who founded a scholarship at Clare in 1555.

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The Master and Fellows covenant that they will “yearly for ever (if they so long enjoy the premisses) keep in theyr sayde Colledge one Scholer. . .” and the foundress stipulates that “if an heretyke he is to be put out”: provisos which perhaps allude to the recent danger through which the College had passed and certainly indicate the creed of the benefactress.

We may fitly close our account of the first half of this century by giving a short life of a man who is one of the greatest, and probably the best known, of our Clare worthies.

It may perhaps appear strange that so little should be known of the early days of a man who was destined to play so leading a part in the history of the Church in England; but, like many other great men, Latimer was of humble origin, and it was to his own character and not to any happy accident of distinguished parentage that he owed his later eminence.

He himself tells us (in a well-known passage in a sermon preached before King Edward VI) that he was the son of “a yeoman, who had no lands of his own; only he had a farm of three or four pounds by year at the uttermost.”

This was at Thurcaston, a little village in Leicestershire. There the great Reformer was born about 1490: the exact year<sup>1</sup> is uncertain, nor is it material. Fox in his *Book of Martyrs*, tells us that he was

the son of one Hugh Latimer of Thirkesson in the county of Leicester, a husbandman in good repute; with whom he was brought up till he was about four years old; at which time his parents (having him as then left for their only son, with six daughters) seeing him to be of a ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in the common schools of his own country that at fourteen years of age he was sent to the University of Cambridge....

Fox does not specify the College which he entered; by other writers this was generally supposed to be Christ's, which had recently been founded—in 1505; but there is no trace of him in the College records there. The late Dr Venn suggests that it may have been Peterhouse, identifying as he does the Dr Watson, who is mentioned as Latimer's tutor, with a Dr Watson of Peterhouse. It seems however probable that, if he did not join Clare from the first, he migrated to our College soon after entering Cambridge; at any rate he was elected a Fellow of Clare while still *quaestionista* (viz. in his fourth year), before taking his degree, and it is hardly likely that so unusual a step would have been taken in the case of a member of another College. In the old Register occurs the entry: *etiam ad festum Purificationis proxime sequens* (2 Febr. 1510–11) *elegebantur in socios, dominus Johannes Pomel et dominus Willelmus Pynder in artibus Baccalaurei, et Hugo Latymer quaestionista.*

<sup>1</sup> The date (1470) given on the memorial erected at Thurcaston some 80 years ago, is undoubtedly too early.



## SIXTEENTH CENTURY: HUGH LATIMER

Latimer, therefore, must have entered the University in 1507, and if (as Fox states) he was fourteen years old at the time, he must have been born about 1492-3. But Fox himself says that he was *above* 67 when preaching at the Court of King Edward, and the same statement is made elsewhere.

At the latest this can only have been in 1553, when Edward VI died, and this would put his birth at 1486, or even before that date, and he would have been 21 when he came to Cambridge.

The normal age at entry, in those days, was from 13 to 15, and it is almost incredible that he should have come to Cambridge eight years after the normal time. He was clearly a precocious boy, and his early gravity is emphasized. We suspect that the strain of anxieties through which he passed rendered him prematurely old, and that the epithet "*old* Hugh Latimer," by which he was known for some years before he died, was a term of affectionate regard, and his actual age considerably overstated.

His life in Cambridge lasted some 23 years, 1507-1530, and, as we have seen, was, at any rate almost from the first, spent at our College.

He was ordained, as he himself tells us in his sermons (p. 298), at Lincoln. He proceeded A.M. in 1514; in 1522 he was appointed one of the twelve Preachers licensed to officiate in any part of England—the first recognition of his special fitness for a sphere in which he was afterwards pre-eminently great; in 1523 he was, according to Strype, deputed to carry the silver cross of the University in solemn processions (as *Capellanus*, but in 1522, according to Dr J. R. Tanner), in consequence, it is said, of his "gravity and years." He proceeded B.D. in 1524.

This event proved the turning-point of his life. Hitherto he had been one of the staunchest supporters of the Roman Catholic Church. His training had been in the study of the Schoolmen; an elegant Latinist, he declared at the close of his life that he knew no Greek; and, even if this was not strictly accurate, it is clear that his knowledge of that language was of the slightest. He viewed the study of Greek—then an innovation in the University—with suspicion, and on one occasion urged his hearers to "study the school divines, and not meddle with the Scripture itself."

In the public oration which he had to deliver on the occasion of his taking the B.D. degree, Latimer launched out into a bitter attack upon the teaching of Philip Melanchthon. Among his auditors was a Fellow of Trinity Hall, Thomas Bilney, to whom is due the credit of being the earliest of the Cambridge Reformers. Much distressed by what he had heard, Bilney went to Latimer, and from the conversation that ensued Latimer afterwards declared that he learnt more than in many years before. They used to walk together on what was called "Heretics' Hill."

Latimer first came into conflict with Dr West, Bishop of Ely, who came into

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Great St Mary's church when he was about to preach: whereupon Latimer, adapting his discourse to this unexpected listener, preached upon Christ as an example to Bishops. After the close of the sermon, the Bishop desired Latimer to refute the doctrines of Luther, and upon his assertion that he could not refute what he was not acquainted with, the Bishop replied, "Well, Mr Latimer, I perceive that you somewhat smell of the pan; you will repent this gear one day," and inhibited him from preaching, both in the diocese of Ely, and in the University.

When, however, he himself preached against Latimer in Barnwell Abbey he made a bad tactical error; the monastery was exempt from Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the Prior, Robert Barnes, already well disposed towards the Reformers, placed the pulpit at Latimer's disposal. The Prior himself preached at St Edward's, where he was liable to the Jurisdiction of the University, and was arraigned before the Vice-Chancellor, Edmund Natures, Master of Clare, who was notoriously hostile to the cause of the Reformers. He was sent to appear before Wolsey, and forced to recant. Shortly afterwards Latimer was also cited to appear before the Cardinal, but he made so favourable an impression that Wolsey gave him a license to preach throughout England, declaring "if the Bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you have repeated, you shall have my license and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will."

Latimer returned to Cambridge, where he spent the next few years. His "sermons on the card," preached, December 1529, at St Edward's church, strike the modern reader as somewhat grotesque, but they appear to have made a great impression; and brought Latimer into violent collision with some of the Fellows of St John's College. The Royal Almoner, Edward Foxe, required the Vice-Chancellor to put a stop to the dispute, which accordingly he did, enjoining upon both parties to desist.

Shortly after this, the question of the validity of the King's marriage with his deceased brother's wife (which on the suggestion of Cranmer had been referred to the Universities of Christendom) came before the University. Latimer supported the King's point of view, and was invited to preach at Windsor, Henry having already heard much of his eloquence. But the Court and its intrigues had for him no charms. He secured through his friend Cromwell, who had risen to power on Wolsey's fall, the presentation to the country living of West Kington, in Wilts, to which he was instituted 14 January 1531. In 1535 he was raised to the see of Worcester, which he held for four years only, retiring in 1539.

His special vocation was preaching, and as the cares of a diocese which had been much neglected must have been exceedingly arduous, he was probably glad to catch at an excuse for resigning.

Upon the subsequent events of his life, ended by his martyrdom at Oxford in



## SIXTEENTH CENTURY: HUGH LATIMER & NICHOLAS HEATH

1555, we need not dwell; it is his connexion with Clare and Cambridge with which we are here concerned.

That Latimer was one of the greatest of the English reformers is universally felt, and the source of his influence is not far to seek. He was not a man of profound learning, or a great administrator; some acts of apparent weakness may even be, and have been, alleged against him; but he valued his life, and his mission, and was not prepared to sacrifice them unnecessarily by ill-timed defiance. His homely sermons do not impress us greatly now; but there is a wide difference between sermons read and sermons delivered; the *vox viva* is lacking, and, no doubt, it was the intense earnestness with which they were delivered that arrested the hearers' attention. Nor was Latimer ever carried to extreme lengths; his development was slow and gradual; together with the courage of profound conviction he yet possessed consummate tact in dealing with opposition. If St Paul was the Apostle of the Gentiles, Latimer (whose conversion, although by human agency, was almost as sudden and as complete) may be regarded as the Preacher of England; the work which the great Apostle did for the early Church was done for the Church in England in the sixteenth century by one who, if he did not possess the learning, at least shared the missionary devotion, of St Paul, and like him sealed his faith with his life.

With the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, the Reformed Faith was finally accepted as the established form of religion in the country; but religious feeling still ran high, and it would appear that Elizabeth found it no easy matter to reconcile the conflicting parties.

Clare men may reflect with pride that she was not a little indebted for assistance in this task to one who had been a Fellow of our College.

Nicholas Heath is a man who deserves more recognition in Clare than he has received; in particular we should like to see a portrait of him on our walls. Perhaps the fact that he stood for views which were subsequently discredited, or that he was not originally a Clare man, may be held responsible for this neglect.

Born in London, about 1501, and educated at St Anthony's School there, he entered Christ's College and from there took his B.A. degree in 1519-20, and M.A. in 1522. He was elected a Fellow of Clare on 9 April 1524.

Heath found an early patron in Cranmer, and became successively Bishop of Rochester in 1539 and Bishop of Worcester in 1543. Of course he rose and fell with the changes of the times; under Edward VI he was deprived of his see for refusing to sign a form for ordination which had been prepared by Cranmer and for declaring that he would never consent to take down altars and to set up tables in churches; he was restored by Mary, and advanced, two years later, to the

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Archbishopric of York, and in the following year was appointed Lord Chancellor. He used his influence with Mary to procure the restoration to the see of York of many manors of which it had been deprived, and it is said that the see owes more than one-third of its wealth to Queen Mary and to Heath.

Upon Mary's death, he announced, in the House of Lords, the accession of Elizabeth; but his conscience forbade him to take the oath of allegiance to her. He was accordingly deprived of his offices and confined in the Tower; his confinement, however, was brief; he was released and retired into private life at Chobham: and it is pleasing to be able to add that the Queen on several occasions visited him there.

Although he preferred personally to sacrifice his position to his principles, Heath was a man of broad views, recognised the true interests of his country, and exerted great influence with the Papal party to persuade them to acquiesce in the new government. He died, universally respected, at Chobham, and was buried there early in 1579. Recently a bronze tablet has been erected to his memory in Chobham Church.

As in several Colleges, so in Clare, the accession of Elizabeth led to a change in the Mastership; a certain time, however, was allowed to the holders to determine whether to accept the new order or not. Dr Thomas Bayly, the Master at the time, finally retired, and found a home in the College at Douay, Edward Leeds succeeding him in 1560.

The College owes so much to Leeds that a few words about him will not be out of place here. Edward Leeds was born at Benenden in Kent. He came up to Cambridge about 1540, and proceeded B.A. in 1542-3, M.A. 1546 and LL.D. in 1568.

In 1548 he was made a Canon of Ely and Commissary to the Bishop in 1550. From 1560-1571 he was Master of the College; he was at the same time Master of the Hospital of St John and Mary Magdalene in Ely, and procured from the Queen a transfer of the property of the Hospital to Clare for the "mayntenance of X Scollershipps there for ever at the allowance of xii<sup>d</sup> the weke to every Scoller."

Dr Leeds was an eminent "Civilian" and a Master in Chancery. In 1571 he became Rector and Lord of the Manor of Croxton, where he died, 17 February 1589-90. The Memorial brass in Croxton church is familiar to us from the photograph in the Reading Room, but it is worth remarking that, sartorially, the brass deserves much wider academic interest. In the most succinct and vivid of all the smaller books on Cambridge, that by Mr Noel Barwell, we read (pp. 38-9):

The Cambridge of our own day contains much that is reminiscent of those two hundred years. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries academical dress settled itself into the form in which for the most we now see it...it was during the sixteenth century that the present style of M.A. gown





From an engraving in the portfolio collection of the National Portrait Gallery.  
Cf. the old oil painting in the Master's Lodge, in which, also, Butler wears the  
gold-embroidered head-gear of a President of the Royal College of Physicians

WILLIAM BUTLER, 1535-1618

Donor of the Gold Plate and of the 16th century  
Poison, Serpentine, and Falcon cups



HEATH, DE BADEW, RUGGLE,  
MOORE, TOWNSHEND  
and other arms



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FOLKES, COLE, CECIL, EARL OF EXETER,  
ASHBURNHAM, CLINTON,  
NOBLE (Donor)  
and other arms

ARMORIAL GLASS IN THE COLLEGE HALL  
The gift, in 1910, of H. Heywood Noble (Clare, 1879)





LATIMER, TILLOTSON,  
HERVEY OF ICKWORTH  
and other arms



*Copyrights Palmer Clarke*

BUTLER, HENCHMAN,  
CAVENDISH  
and other arms

ARMORIAL GLASS IN THE COLLEGE HALL

The gift, in 1910, of H. Heywood Noble



GUNNING, FERRAR  
TOWNSHEND, VISCOUNT SIDNEY  
and other arms



LEEDS, BLITHE,  
OLEY, WILCOX  
and other arms

*Copyrights Palmer Clarke*

ARMORIAL GLASS IN THE COLLEGE HALL

The gift, in 1910, of H. Heywood Noble (Clare, 1879)



## ARCHDEACON JOHNSON & THOMAS PASKE, *MAG. COLL.*

and that of the Law gowns worn at Cambridge by Doctors of Laws and in the courts by King's Counsel came into use. The style is fundamentally that of the ordinary walking dress of a notable of the end of the fifteenth century. A robe of this kind, as an over-garment, obtained all over Europe during the succeeding hundred years, and it would appear to have been Italian in origin. An example of the academical form of this garment may be seen on a brass at Croxton in Cambridgeshire, where is represented the figure of one Edward Leeds, LL.D., a Master of Clare Hall, who died in 1589.

To this we may add that a contemporary painted portrait still survives in the possession of his descendants. To be thus represented in two different media from so distant a period is a piece of good fortune such as many much greater men have not enjoyed.

With the next century we come to what is perhaps the most interesting period in our history. We find the College growing in importance (as indicated by the number of gifts for the establishment of Fellowships and Scholarships); we see also the older buildings gradually removed to make way for the present fabric; finally, the *personnel* of the Society includes several who cannot fail to prove peculiarly attractive.

On the first point we need not dwell; readers interested in such details will find them recorded in the chapter on the College Estates and (more fully) in the *Clare Annual* for 1925.

One of the donors only calls for special mention—Robert Johnson, to whom we are indebted for our four Johnson Exhibitions.

Robert Johnson, afterwards a Canon of Windsor and Archdeacon of Leicester, was one of those notable benefactors to whom education in England is so much indebted. He founded two of our great schools, Oakham and Uppingham<sup>1</sup>, and left an estate for the maintenance of Exhibitioners from those schools at the Colleges of Clare, St John's, Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex.

The name of such a man deserves to be held in especial honour in the College where he studied and from which he proceeded B.A. He was subsequently elected to a Fellowship at Trinity, and from thence proceeded to his Master's degree, but he was still at Clare when he graduated, 3rd in the list, in 1560-1.

A list of the Fellows in 1617 has been preserved in the College, and includes among names of less conspicuous persons those of George Ruggle, Nicholas Ferrar, and Humphrey Henchman, and we must add here the names of three other persons, although they do not appear as Fellows at this time, viz. Dr Butler, Thomas Paske, and Abraham Wheelock.

The Mastership of Paske, 1621-61 (with a break during the Commonwealth), is especially noteworthy. Not only was the building of our present College com-

<sup>1</sup> We are informed that Uppingham School has recently done honour to its founder by erecting an effigy in stone of the great Archdeacon, and that the figure holds, "with comparative ease," a model of the school. We regret having been unable to secure a suitable photograph for reproduction here.

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menced, and about half of it completed, before the outbreak of the Civil War, but the period of the Commonwealth, with its Roundhead interference into the management of the College, presents us with many exceptional phenomena; and we are happy in having in the letters preserved in the Library a living picture of some of the actors in the drama; we have Royalist partisans ejected to make way for men of the other party and these again removed at the Restoration in favour of the original Fellows.

The account may commence with brief biographical notices of the above-mentioned persons, of whom Dr William Butler, in consideration of his seniority, may be taken first.

With Dr Butler's features we are some of us familiar from his painted portrait in the College Lodge; his monument in Great St Mary's we have, no doubt, all of us seen, although we perhaps did not recognize that it was a worthy of Clare which it commemorates. The likeness selected for reproduction here we have found in a portfolio in the National Portrait Gallery. As in the painting, he is here depicted wearing the rich gold-upholstered skull-cap of the President of the College of Physicians.

Butler was born at Ipswich in 1535 and died (as we know from the inscription on his monument) 29 January 1617-18 in his 83rd year; the name is no doubt a fairly common one, and he has been identified with William Butler of Christ's College who matriculated in 1559; but the date practically prohibits this identification, and we have the authority of Dr Venn for assuming that he was a member of Clare from the first. Apparently he is the *impubis* admitted in 1545.

Butler never took the M.D. degree, but the University granted him a license to practise physic in 1572 and he was always known as "Dr Butler." "Doctor" or no, authentically, Butler acquired the most extraordinary reputation in his profession, and Fuller (*Worthies of England*, Ed. 3, 180) declares that "he was the first Englishman who quickened Galenical physic with a touch of Paracelsus, trading in chemical receipts with great success," or, put less ambiguously in a less fervent estimate<sup>1</sup>, "he is said to have been the first Englishman who brought in the use of Galenical and chemical physic, to the great benefit of his patients. His sagacity was remarkable in discovering the existence of those symptoms of approaching death which are developed in the countenance, and are known to physicians by the term *facies Hippocratica*. It was this quickness that enabled him when called in to attend Prince Henry son of James I [Butler was court physician to King James] to perceive at first glance the hopelessness of the case; and under this impression he got out of the way, that he might not have to prescribe for him."

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. J. J. Smith, *Cambridge Portfolio*, 1840, p. 489.



## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: DOCTOR BUTLER

This was in October, 1612, Smith's statement being doubtless condensed from the contemporary account, given *verbatim* by Cooper (*Annals*, Vol. III), of Sir Charles Cornwallis, author of *The Life and Death of Henry, Prince of Wales*:

On Wednesday the eight-and-twentieth, and fourth day of his sicknesse, in the morning came Master Butler, the famous physitian of Cambridge, a marvellous great scholler, and of long practise, and singular judgment, but withall very humerous; who (whatsoever he thought,) comforting him with good hopes that he would shortly recover, and that there was no danger; yet, secretly unto others, did not let to speake doubtfully, (as they say, his humour is,) that he could not tell what to make of it, and that he did not well like of the same; adding further, that if he did recover, he was likely to lye by it for a great while, with dyvers other like speeches; neither could he be perswaded all the time of his highnesse's sicknesse, to stay any longer than one houre, or thereabouts, every morning; and so in the afternoone to give his counsell and advice with the rest: what moved him I know not; whether he did mislike the French Doctor's company, or because the cure was not committed to him as chiefe, or being jealous, and misliking his highnesse's disease, and therefore loved not to meddle too much in the cure, (which I rather imagine;) or whether his health or humour impeached the same, I dare not judge; the curious may best learne from himselfe: yet having, at his comming, enquired what was done, he approved the same, and wished the continuance of the same proceedings untill a further judgement might be given of the same event.

Two years later, in 1614, Butler was commanded to Newmarket to attend King James himself, and some six months later received a visit of nearly an hour's duration from His Majesty, who was at Cambridge in the course of a royal progress. The King appears first to have noticed Butler through the fame of one of his ingenious cures:

About the comeing in of K. James, there was a minister of...(a few miles from Cambridge,) that was to preach before his majestie at New-market. The parson heard that the King was a great scholar, and studyed so excessively that he could not sleep, so somebody gave him some opium, which had made him sleep his last had not this physitian (Dr. Butler) used this following remedy. He was sent for by the parson's wife; when he came and sawe the parson, and asked what they had donne, he told her that she was in danger to be hanged for killing her husband, and so in great choler left her; it was at that time when the coves came into the backside to be milkt; he turnes back, and asked whose coves these were, she sayd her husband's. Sayd he, "Will you give one of these coves to fetch your husband to life again?" That she would with all her heart. He then causes one presently to be killed and opened, and the parson to be taken out of his bed and putt into the coves warme belly, which after some time brought him to life, or else he had infallibly dyed.

From the Exchequer Issues of James I we learn that in March, 1611, the King had given Butler  $24\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of gilt plate, at 10s. the ounce. Perhaps this was the origin of a taste which culminated, for Clare, in the bequest to which we owe our chapel plate of solid gold. The prospect of further glittering largesse does not appear to have made the Doctor truckle to Royalty—"He was a man of great moodes. One time K. James sent for him to New-market, and when he was gon halfe way [he] left the messenger and turned back; so then the messenger made him ride before him."

But when we read that "he was not greedy of money except choice pieces of gold or rarities," and reflect on the inscrutable compound of childish ingenuity and

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crafty adult shrewdness that go to make so irresistible a combination in this most picturesque and attractive of all the types of overweening character, we do not wish to restrain the suspicion that that turn-back was ultimately calculated, and that even the horse put its tongue into its cheek. On the other hand, it may not have been necessary. Butler was in a heaven-sent position to get the weather-gauge of some royal queasiness or crotchety on the score of health, or even of some "complex" distressingly incompatible with James' divinely-righteous pretensions. Anyhow, we cannot refrain from affording our readers further grounds for amused conjecture, once more in contemporary language, and verbatim<sup>1</sup>:

He was much addicted to his humours, and would suffer persons of quality to wayte sometimes some houres at his dore, with coaches, before he would receive them. Once, on the rode from Cambridge to London, he tooke a fancy to a chamberlayn or tapster in his inne, and took him with him, and made him his favourite, by whom only accession was to be had to him, and thus enriched him. Dr. Gale, of St. Paul's Schoole, assures me, that a French man came from London to Cambridge, purposely to see him, whom he made stay two houres for him in his gallery, and then he came out to him in an old blew gowne. The French Gentleman makes him 2 or 3 very lowe bowes downe to the ground; Dr. Butler whippes his legge over his head, and away goes into his chamber, and did not speake with him. He kept an old mayd whose name was Nell. Dr. Butler would many times goe to the taverne, but drinke by himselfe: about 9 or 10 at night old Nell comes for him with a candle and lanthorne, and sayes, "Come home you drunken beast." By and by Nell would stumble, then her master calls her "drunken beast," and so they did drunken beast one another all the way till they came home<sup>2</sup>.

A serving man brought his master's water to Dr. Butler, being then in his studie, (with turned barres) but would not be spoken with. After much fruitlesse importunity, the man told y<sup>e</sup> Dr. he was resolved he should see his master's water; he would not be turned away [and so] threw it on the Dr.'s head. This humour pleased the Dr. and he went to the gent. and cured him.—A gent. lying a dyeing, sent his servant with a horse for y<sup>e</sup> Dr., the horse being exceeding dry, ducks downe his head strongly into y<sup>e</sup> water, and plucks downe the Dr. over his head, who was plunged in the water over head and eares. The Dr. was maddened and would returne home. The man swore he should not; drew his sword, and gave him ever and anon (when he would returne) a little prick, and so drove him before him.—The Dr. lyeing at the Savoy in London, next the water side where was a balcony look't into the Thames, a patient came to him that was grievously tormented with an ague. The Dr. orders a boate to be in readinesse under his windowe, and discoursed with the patient (a gent.) in the balcony, when on a signall given, 2 or 3 lusty fellowes came behind the gent. and threw him a matter of 20 feete into the Thames. This surprize absolutely cured him.—A gent. with a red, ugly, pumpled face came to him for a cure. Said the Dr. "I must hang you." So presently he had a device made ready to hang him from a beame in the roome; and when he was een almost dead, he cutts the veines that fed these pumpled, and lett out the black ugly blood, and cured him.

Fuller says:

Knowing himself to be the prince of physicians, he would be observed accordingly. Compliments would prevail nothing with him, entreaties but little, surly threatenings would do much, and a witty jeer do any thing. He was better pleased with presents than money, loved what was pretty rather than what was costly and preferred rarities before riches. Neatness he neglected into slovenliness; and accounting cuffs to be manacles, he may be said not to have made himself ready for some seven years together. He made his humoursomeness to become him, wherein some of his profession have rather aped than imitated him, who had morose æquabilem, and kept the same tenor of surliness to all persons.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, III, pp. 121–2.

<sup>2</sup> The site of his home was on the green in front of the University Library, near where Siberch, the printer-binder, once lived.



## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: DOCTOR BUTLER

"He was," writes, in 1840, the Rev. J. J. Smith, "a most eccentric character; by an anonymous biographer he has been set down as an 'intolerable humourist.'" But his imitators failed for innate lack of the essential gift; "the rudeness was too broad a feature to miss, but the humour of the character, which alone could qualify the burden so as to make it bearable, was less easy to hit. A successful rival however at last seems to have presented himself to our age: the popular reputation of Abernethy will probably suggest itself to the reader as a parallel."

We have heard tell of Butler enough, perhaps, by now. Let us draw to a conclusion by testing this report by his own, not other people's, language. The following is one of two letters<sup>1</sup> (Bowtell's MSS) written in reply to applications made to him by one Paul Tompson who was languishing "for clippinge of Gould" in Cambridge Castle ("O thou foolishe Pawle, who hath bewitched thee!").

Your giddie-headed phantastique fidlinge fingers and scribblinge pen, directed by the quicke motion of your quicksilver brayne without penetancy, pretendinge pietie, practizinge pollice, will bring you to a violent end: you live onlie by witt, and have taken a wronge and a sinister course; his majestie sayth, *curae loquuntur leves ingentes stupent*: for yf you had beene *inwardlie* sorry, you would have used fewer words, beene astonished and lie quietlie, like a forsaken, a desolate, a forlorne and a mortified creature; whereas now, by your externall shewe, you indanger yourself, make your frends to weepe and your enemyes to laughe at your grosse absurd and ridiculous foolishnes. St. Paul's calling was immediatlie from God and was miraculous; yours is but a darke shaddowe of immitacon; a type, a colour, a counterfeit figure of his conversion; your pragmaticall and polliticke witt will double your crime; *Simulata sanctitas, duplex iniquitas*. You worke by uncertentie and unluckie meanes and fondlie derogate from the king's favour and mercy: for as God our Saviour, in savinge our souls, will admitt of no partaker for our salvation, no more christian kings and princes, which represent the livelie ymage of God vpon earth, will joyne with partakers in savinge the life of the bodie of greivous offenders, or malefactors: it is the Psalme, *misericordia domini supra omnia opera ejus*: and in the Evangelist, *misericordes estote, sicut pater vester misericors est*. Likewise the kinge, by his examples, is good and mercifull. To be briefe, deale honestlie and plainlie; leave pollicie and hipocrisie; confesse your offence humbly and submitt yourselfe intirely to the king's mercy; prostrate yourselfe at his majesties feet, declyne the vengeance to come and appeale from the lawe in which is no comfort, to the throne and seat of his grace and mercie; and remember the historian's speech—*Caesar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo gloriam adeptus est*. Once more I say leave your toyes, skittishe pride, and stay your wisdom, and in all humillitie take your death which you have justlie deserved, and (if it come) most patientlie, *et omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum; grata superveniet quæ non sperabitur hora*. You are no prisoner to Kinge Harry, that rude bruit and monster of crueltie, or that blacke grisled beard and grimme Saturn, like to roughe and ragged Hunx the great beare of Parris garden, but you live under a gracious mercifull prince, defender and patron of religion and learninge;—confesse your fault and crave mercy; other wayes I must conclude *respondent ultima primis*. As you have alwayes lived a conceited wizard, so now you will dye a nynnyhammer foole.

Your very lovinge frend grieved  
at your fall, and pittieinge your miserie,  
W. BUTLER.

At his death, Dr Butler left the bulk of his property to his friend, John Crane, an apothecary in whose house he had lived. It was Crane who erected the monument

<sup>1</sup> Given on pp. 491–2 of Smith's *Cambridge Portfolio*, Vol. II.

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

to his memory in Great St Mary's, "in gratitude...at his own charge, in the fashion he used."

The inscription is worth quoting (at least in part) as we learn from it that Butler had at one time been a Fellow of Clare.

GULIELMUS BUTLERUS Clarensis aulae quondam Socius, Medicoꝝ omnium quos praesens aetas vidit facile Princeps, hoc sub marmore secundū Christi adventū expectat: Ei monumentū hoc privata pietas statuit quod debuit publica. Abi viator, et ad tuos reversus, narra te vidisse locum in quo salus iacet.

Obiit MDCXVII Janua. XXIX. aetā suae LXXXIII.

Of the "hyperbolical injunction" *Abi viator* etc., Smith relates Fuller's observation that it "might have served for Joseph of Arimathea to have inscribed on the monument of the Saviour."

In the College letter book are two Latin Epigrams on Dr Butler evidently written in derision of this inscription, with its *salus*. The first and shorter may be cited:

*Quem non lex regni propriae nec cura salutis  
Attulit huc vivum, detulit huc feretrum.*

These epigrams would seem to imply that Dr Butler was not conspicuous for regularity of attendance at divine service. Yet he gave in his lifetime (according to Cole and Parker) a "stately carpet for the Altar," and by will left £260 for a communion cup.

His will (dated 20th May 1615 and proved by John Crane, the executor, 27 April 1618) was originally in the University Registry, but some years ago was transferred to the Probate Registry, Peterborough.

From an official abstract we learn that he bequeathed to the College, for the Library, all his books in folio (except one tome to John Crane); the terms of his bequest to the College of what is now our most famous and valuable plate will be given in the succeeding chapter, together with an old medical recipe, in *lieu* of that, no longer extant, for the still somehow procurable "Dr Butler's ale."

Fuller terms him "the Aesculapius of our age," and Mr Barwell, epitomising the prestige of the University in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, declares: "in medicine Cambridge was the foremost English school, and the names of Caius, Butler, Gilbert and Harvey have a permanent place in the History of that Faculty." As a "proof of his great reputation in practice," Smith mentions what is related of Sir Thomas Bodley, when "he was come to his last cast," that "having run over all the best Physitians of London he was still disheartened at not being able to get Butler of Cambridge to come to him, not so much as to speak with him; for he says, words cannot cure him and he can do nothing else to him." Another testimony is



## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: GEORGE RUGGLE & *IGNORAMUS*

to this effect,—“as for men he never kept any, nor apprentices for his business, nor any maid, but a foole: and yet his reputation (35 years after his death) was still so great, that many empyrics got credit among the vulgar by claiming relation as having served him and learned much from him.” That he was well known as a Clare man is indicated by the puns in Massinger’s play “The Old Law.”

*Cook.* Oracle butler! oracle butler! he puts down all the doctors of the name. (Act 2, Scene 1.)

*Drawer.* What wine will’t please you drink gentlemen?

*Butler.* De Clare, Sirrah! (Act 4, Scene 1.)

(Whether *claret* is so called from the *de Clares*, as has been suggested, we do not know, but this passage seems to suggest it.)

Taking our leave of the eccentric doctor, who for all his oddity must have been a man of original genius, we pass on to another Fellow of Clare, who deserves to be had in remembrance not only as a learned student, but also as a writer of amusing comedies in Latin and English.

George Ruggle was born at Lavenham in Suffolk in 1575. First entering St John’s College, he subsequently migrated to Trinity and in 1598 became a Fellow of Clare. In 1620 he succeeded to some property and vacated his Fellowship: but he did not live long to enjoy his prosperity, dying in 1621.

Acting was a very popular form of amusement among undergraduates in Cambridge at that time, and appears indeed, in some cases, to have been actually required by the authorities. Some at least of the plays acted were written specially for the occasion.

One such play, undoubtedly, *Ignoramus*, was written (in Latin) by Ruggle in 1615. It was modelled on an Italian Comedy by Giovanni Battista della Porta, to caricature the pedantry of the legal profession, and was played before King James (8 March, 1615), on the occasion of his visit to the University, with such success that the King actually made a special journey to Cambridge (13 May) that he might see it acted over again.

The legal profession was, quite unreasonably, much annoyed, the Lord Chief Justice (Sir Edward Coke) in particular expressing himself upon the subject with ridiculous warmth.

*Ignoramus* was at one time extraordinarily popular, was acted four times at Westminster School, instead of the usual play of Plautus or Terence, and passed through several editions.

Besides *Ignoramus*, two other plays, *Re Vera* and *Club Law*, have also been ascribed to Ruggle, on the strength of a note written in 1741 by John Hayward, M.A. of Clare Hall, in his copy of *Ignoramus*. He speaks of them as “MS,” which implies that they had not been printed, and says that they were “intended to expose the

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

Puritans.” *Re Vera* has disappeared and may have had this object. *Club Law*, if it is the play in English (as it seems undoubtedly to be) which Dr Moore Smith discovered in MS in St John’s Library and published (with a very copious and learned introduction) in 1907, is certainly not an attack upon the Puritans but upon the Mayor and Corporation of Cambridge. Fuller affirms that it was acted in 1597-8; Dr Moore Smith gives reasons for dating it two years later. The exact date need not trouble us here; it will suffice to give the story in Fuller’s own inimitable language:

The *young Schollars* conceiving themselves somewhat wronged by the *Townsmen* (the particulars whereof I know not) betook them for revenge to their *wits*, as the weapon wherein lay their best advantage. These having gotten a discovery of some *Town privacies*, from *Miles Goldsborrough* (one of their own Corporation) composed a merry (but abusive) *Comedy* (which they call’d *CLUB-LAW*) in *English*, as calculated for the capacities of such, whom they intended *spectatours* thereof. *Clare-Hall* was the place wherein it was acted, and the Major, with his Brethren, and their Wives, were invited to behold it, or rather themselves abused therein. A convenient place was assigned to the *Townsfolk* (rivetted in with *Schollars* on all sides) where they might see and be seen. Here they did behold themselves in their own best cloathes (which the *Schollars* had borrowed) so livelily personated, their *habits, gestures, language, lieger-jests, and expressions*, that it was hard to decide, which was the *true Townsman*, whether he that *sat by*, or he who *acted on the Stage*. *Sit still* they could not for *chafing*, *go out* they could not for *crowding*, but impatiently patient were fain to attend till dismissed at the end of the *Comedy*.

The *Major* and his *Brethren* soon after complain of this *libellous Play* to the *Lords* of the *Privie Councell* and truly aggravate the *Scollars offence*, as if the *Majors Mace* could not be played with, but that the *Scepter* it selfe is touched therein. Now, though such the *gravity* of the *Lords*, as they must *maintain Magistracy*, and not behold it *abused*: yet such their *goodness*, they would not with too much *severity* punish *Wit*, though *waggishly employed*; and therefore only sent some *slight* and *private check* to the *principall Actors* therein.

There goeth a *tradition*, many earnestly engaging for the *truth* thereof, that the *Townsmen* not contented herewith, importunately pressed, That *some more severe and publick punishment might be inflicted upon them*. Hereupon, the *Lords* promised in short time to come to *Cambridge*, and (because the *life* in such things is lacking when onely *read*) they themselves would *see* the same *Comedy*, with all the *properties* thereof, *acted over again*, (the *Townsmen* as formerly, being enjoined to be *present thereat*) that so they might the better proportion the *punishment* to the *fault*, if any appeared. But rather than the *Townsmen* would be *witnesses* again to their own *abusing*, (wherein many things were *too farre from*, and some things *too near to truth*) they fairly fell off from any farther prosecution of the matter<sup>1</sup>.

A perusal of the Play will shew their discretion in letting the matter drop<sup>2</sup>.

Ruggle bequeathed his valuable collection of French, Spanish and Italian books to the College, and it is, no doubt, in connection with this considerable bequest that we find the accommodation provided by the Library at that time (over the Chapel) considerably increased a few years later.

Humphrey Henchman, next to be mentioned, was the son of Thomas Henchman, a skinner, and was baptized 22 December 1592 at Barton Seagrave, near Kettering,

<sup>1</sup> It is but proper to add that Dr Moore Smith (pp. liv–lv) calls attention to the fact that the Acts of the Privy Council as published make no mention of *Club Law*, and that the charge made by the Town, in 1601, that “the scholars of the University...misuse in generall all free burgesses & in particular the magistrates of the town, And also in the plays in Colleges & publick sermons,” was stoutly denied by the University.

<sup>2</sup> *Club Law* is dealt with at greater length in Chapter v.



## HUMPHREY HENCHMAN, BISHOP OF LONDON

Northants. He took his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Christ's College, but, as his name appears in a list of Fellows of Clare in 1617, he must have been elected a Fellow almost immediately after his M.A. degree.

In 1622 he was appointed Precentor, and in 1628 a Prebendary, of Salisbury Cathedral.

From letters in the College Library we learn that his grandmother was a near relative of John Freeman, who founded two Fellowships in 1617, and that he was elected into one of them; as John Freeman's daughter and heiress was married to Edward, Lord Gorges (created Baron Dundalk in 1620), who lived at Langford Castle, Wilts, we have a probable explanation of HENCHMAN's appointment at Salisbury Cathedral.

Clarendon gives us a graphic description of the help which he rendered in Charles' flight after the battle of Worcester. He met the King on Salisbury Plain and conducted him to a house at Heale where he lay concealed for many days, and then met him again at Stonehenge and escorted him to a place where Colonel Philips took charge and conducted him to Brighton.

This act of loyalty established HENCHMAN's fortunes; on the Restoration he was appointed, in 1660, Bishop of Salisbury, and in 1663 he was advanced to the see of London. Soon afterwards he was sworn Privy Councillor and appointed Lord Almoner. He died in 1675.

HENCHMAN did not owe his advancement, however, merely to royal gratitude. He was a man of real ability; Richard Baxter says that at the Savoy Conference "he and Gunning and Cosin were the only three who showed much insight in the Fathers and Councils." Two out of the three mentioned (it will be noted) had been Fellows of Clare.

Abraham Wheelock (the last to be mentioned here) was born about 1593 in the parish of Whitchurch, Salop. He was originally of Trinity, and was still at Trinity when he contributed, in 1619, to the collection of verses published by the University on the death of the Queen. Shortly after this he became a Fellow of Clare, being one of the electors when Paske was chosen Master in 1620; and took the degree of S.T.B. from Clare in 1624.

He was a distinguished Anglo-Saxon, Arabic and Persian scholar, and was the first Professor of Arabic on the foundation of Sir Thomas Adams, in 1632; he had already been appointed University Librarian in 1629, and held both posts till his death.

In 1640 Sir Henry Spelman established a Saxon lectureship; Wheelock was the first (and only) lecturer on his foundation. At the time of his death he was engaged (we are told) in publishing the four Gospels in Persian.

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He died in September 1653, and was buried at St Botolph's Church, Aldersgate, London. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr William Sclater of Broad Street, London; at the end of the sermon is an encomium on Wheelock, from a copy of which in the College Library many of the above details have been taken.

We may now proceed to describe the Mastership of Thomas Paske.

Thomas Paske was the fourth son of John Paske, of Cambridge, by his wife Mary Goldsborow (sister of Godfrey Goldsborow, Bishop of Gloucester).

Whether he was originally an undergraduate of Clare, we have not been able to ascertain; at any rate his name appears as a Fellow of Clare in 1603 immediately after his B.A. degree. He had, however, ceased to be a Fellow in 1617, nor was he a Fellow when elected Master in 1620.

The well-known passage in Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, II, 141) shews the reputation in which he was held in the University as a teacher: "it will perchance be thought no contemptible evidence of his great worth that 3 Bishops, 4 Privy Counsellors, 2 Judges and 3 Doctors of Physik, all of which had been his pupils in the University came in one day to pay him a visit."

Besides being Master of Clare, Paske held the living of Much Hadham in Hertfordshire, was a Prebendary of York and of Canterbury, and Archdeacon of London.

He was ejected from his living of Hadham 20 December 1643 and from his Mastership in 1645, for refusing to take the oath of the Covenant.

At the Restoration, it is said that he was offered a Bishopric, but declined on the plea of age and infirmity, and it was only with much reluctance that he consented to become Master of Clare once more; even this post he resigned the following March, in favour of Dr Dillingham who had married his youngest daughter Elizabeth. He retired to Hadham, where he died eighteen months later, and was buried there, 20 September 1662. He married Anne Mountain, niece of George Mountain, Archbishop of York; their son Thomas was a Fellow of Clare, while of his grandsons, George (Thomas Paske's fourth son) was also in his turn a Fellow, and Thomas (third son of Thomas Paske) was M.P. for the University.

The great achievement of Paske's mastership was the rebuilding of the College; but the chief credit was due to Barnabas Oley, who had the special energy and ability necessary to carry through so arduous a task; but as a full account of him appears in the treatment of Great Gransden, elsewhere, we may pass on to the confusion created in the University by the Civil War, which for so long interrupted the progress of the work.

That the Parliamentary party did its best honestly to preserve this ancient seat of learning from the miseries of war, we may freely confess. We have in our College



## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THE CIVIL WAR

letter book copies of a proclamation on the subject by Essex in 1642 and by Cromwell ten years later.

Cromwell had himself been at Sidney; we should expect him to respect his own University, and the notice which he issued was not, we may be sure, an idle threat.

These are to charge and require of you upon sight hereof not to Quarter any Officers or Souldiers on any the Colledges Halls or other Howses belonging to the Universitie of Cambridge, nor to offer any iniurie or violence to any of the Students or Members of any of the Colledges or Howses of the said Universitie as you shall answeere the contrary at your perill. Given under my hand and seale this first of July 1652.

O. CROMWELL.

Nor does the "Committee for the Reformation of the University" (an ominous title) appear to have acted in a summary manner; at any rate we find orders that if any exception on the score of piety or learning could be justly taken to those nominated for Fellowships, such exception should be laid before the Committee. It may, however, be surmised that "piety" was not consistent with disloyalty to the Puritan faction.

The notice from the Earl of Manchester in 1644 is particularly interesting; the points censured are adoration towards the East, ceremonies in divine service not warranted by Law, absence from College, and the payment of dividends without regard for the debts of the College. Pluralities, we know, were common, and the Colleges may have laid themselves open to the last charge also.

The Master and seven or eight of the Fellows were ejected; and (worse still) the College was without a Master for some years, although for this the Committee can hardly be held responsible. It was ordered in April 1645 that Mr Spurstowe of St Catharine's, should be admitted Master, but, our Admission book adds, "he never came." Ralph Cudworth of Emmanuel was therefore nominated for Master in the following month; but he did not accept till December 1650, and thus for more than five years the College was without a head.

Cudworth only held the post for a bare four years; in November 1654 he was elected Master of Christ's College. He was the author of a treatise on the "Intellectual System of the Universe" and a man of high reputation as a philosopher, but as he was a member of another College, was not elected Master of Clare by the free choice of the Society itself, treated the office with neglect for five years and eventually only held it for four, we can hardly claim him as a worthy of Clare.

Happily his successor, Theophilus Dillingham, a Fellow of Sidney, was an admirable Head. He was only elected by a bare majority, but his conduct of affairs appears to have been most beneficial, and did much to heal the wounds from which the College had suffered. His marriage to the daughter of his predecessor also, no doubt, had a conciliatory effect. At the Restoration, Dr Paske was with difficulty

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prevailed upon to resume his former office, and resigned a few months later, as already stated, in favour of his son-in-law, Dillingham, who continued to preside over the fortunes of Clare till his death seventeen years later.

We cannot congratulate the Committee on their success in filling up the Master-ship; nor do the Fellows put in by them, or elected, during this period, 1645-1659, with one brilliant exception—Tillotson—appear to have been men of real ability, although there is one other, Francis Holcroft, whom we can hardly pass over in silence.

Francis Holcroft was admitted in 1647; was “chamber-fellow” of Tillotson, and elected a Fellow in 1650; in 1660 he was, of course, ejected.

Holcroft has been called “the apostle” of Cambridge Nonconformity. He early made his mark as a popular preacher, and is said to have addressed the people from the window of his College rooms in the south-east corner of the new buildings, which was nicknamed *Round Head Corner*. His chief labours were at Bassingbourn, a village adjoining the old college living of Litlington. In 1663 he was confined in the gaol at Cambridge for illegal preaching throughout the country, although (through his gaoler’s connivance) he got out on Saturday nights to visit his congregations. After nine years in gaol he was released, but was soon afterwards arrested again and conveyed to the Fleet.

It is pleasant to read that in both his imprisonments he found a good friend in his old College companion, Tillotson.

Eventually he was set free and returned to Cambridgeshire; but his health broke down; he suffered from melancholia; and dying in 1693 was buried just outside the churchyard at Oakington, where a gravestone still preserves his memory (see *Cambridge Baptists*, 1912).

From the enthusiastic, but fanatical, Holcroft, we turn to his “chamber-fellow,” Tillotson.

John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was the eldest son of Robert Tillotson (a clothier of Sowerby, near Halifax) and was born about the end of September 1630.

His father was a strict Calvinist and brought his son up in the same principles. He received his early education at the neighbouring Grammar School of Colne, and was admitted Clare 23 April 1647. The statement as to Tillotson’s election as Fellow, made by John Beardmore (a former pupil) in his appendix to Birch’s life, may be reconciled with Dr Goddard’s note in the Admission book: Tillotson was admitted to a *probationary* fellowship 14 November 1650, the date of the order for Holcroft’s admission as Fellow; and to an *actual* Fellowship on 27 November 1651, succeeding his former Tutor, Clarkson, in the Fellowship originally held by



## JOHN TILLOTSON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Gunning. This Fellowship he continued to hold, although not in residence, till ejected at the Restoration.

Tillotson's letter to Dillingham (15 June 1660) on the subject indicates his love for the College, although it is clear that he felt his ejection sorely:

Honor<sup>d</sup> Sir,

.....It is very probable that Mr Gunning will resume his Fellowship, in which I thinke I am; whatever become of that, I shall ever bee ready to serve the interest of the Colledge to my power.

The surmise here expressed proved correct; Gunning was restored and Tillotson ejected 21 June 1660.

Extravagant stories of Tillotson's life in College were subsequently circulated to his discredit; nor, perhaps, is this surprising at a time of such bitter political and religious differences.

Among other things it was said that, as we have seen, the corner of Clare where he and his pupils lived was nicknamed "Round Head Corner," that he used his influence to tyrannize over the College, and that after the battle of Worcester he inserted in the College Grace, after the words *Laudamus te pro benefactoribus nostris*, the further words *praesertim pro nupera victoria contra Carolum Stuartium in agro Wigorniensis*.

These allegations are completely refuted (if refutation of them be needed) by contemporary evidence collected by Birch in his *Life of Tillotson*.

Tillotson left Cambridge towards the end of 1656, having accepted a post as private tutor in the house of Edmund Prideaux, then Attorney General to Cromwell; he was thus enabled to do the College great service. Not only did he secure for Clare the estates which Joseph Diggon (a former Fellow Commoner and a "very humorous person who had taken disgust against some of his own relations") bequeathed at his instigation to the College, but, in particular, he obtained a very considerable compensation from Cromwell for the loss which the College had suffered from the conduct of the Parliamentary party.

On the outbreak of the Civil War, the building materials collected by the College had been seized and used for the strengthening of Cambridge Castle: a good many years later an appeal for indemnification was put in and the loss was certified as amounting to £503. 6s. 6d. After some negotiations the Society declared (in January 1655) that if Cromwell would give them an order for £350 they would "with much thankfulness acknowledge his Highnesse's grace and favour." Eventually the College obtained £300 worth of timber from Somersham park; but whether in addition to the £350 in money, or in lieu of it, does not appear.

Tillotson's letter, written after presenting the Society's letter of thanks to the Protector, has been preserved in the College, and is so interesting that we give the first half of it in full.

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

Hono<sup>rd</sup> Sr,

I was severall times since I came to London at White Hall, but could not speake with his Highnes hee being then in a course of Physick; On Fryday last M<sup>r</sup> Attornay Gen. was pleased to carry mee thither, and bring mee to him. I deliverd the Letter which hee read carefully once and againe, and recited to Mr Attornay that clause (*nulli tamen libentius agnoscunt quam gens togata praesertim Academica*)<sup>1</sup> and sayd to him, Mr Att. upon the words *gens togata* you the Lawyers might have come in for the most thankefull people if *praesertim Academica* had not hindered you.

When hee had made an end of reading, lookeing very pleaseingly he come to mee and walked downe towards the lower end of the roome and sayd, S<sup>r</sup> I take this acknowledgem<sup>t</sup> from the Colledge very kindly, I am glad I had an opportunity to do your Colledge that favour; I pray present my service to your Master and Fellowes, and tell them I give them thanks for their thanks and tell them they shall find mee ready to embrace all opportunityes of showing favour to the Universityes and in particular to your Colledge and Society, and I pray let them know thus much from mee. After this I told him I was to trouble his Highnes with another busines from the Coll. too inconsiderable in it selfe to mention to him, but that wee could do nothing in it without his Highnes direction, hee asking what that was I told there was a Lease of a small parcell of ground in Ely almost expir'd, the Society desired his Highnes would expresse his pleasure in it; wherto hee answer'd S<sup>r</sup> you say very right, I might have remembred it upon the mention of Clare Hall. I am glad you minded mee of it; I am now going to dinner, and know not where readily to find the Lease, but I desire to have it renewd, and to that purpose shall send one to wayte upon the Society, all I shall desire of them is they would please to use mee as they do their other Tenants (smileing as he spoke this) I shall give some Order to my steward concerning it, and desire to speake with you againe this afternoon.<sup>2</sup>...

Although, as we have said, Tillotson retained his Fellowship, his rooms were assigned to another occupant. His letter of 24 June 1659 upon the subject breathes the same spirit of affection for Clare as the former one.

S<sup>r</sup>,

I understand that my chamber is disposed of to S<sup>r</sup> Vincent....; if it bee not too late I should desire that when the Colledge thinke fitt I should quitt my Fellowship—or chamber, I may have notice of it, that so I may fairly leave them, and have no temptation to draw mee away from studying (according to my meanes) the happiness of a place I love so well.

After the Restoration, Tillotson conformed to the established Church and was ordained. He was appointed King's Chaplain, and a Prebendary of Canterbury. Subsequently he was given a Prebend in St Paul's, and was made Dean of Canterbury. After the Revolution he was appointed clerk of the closet, and in 1691 was elevated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in succession to Sancroft; he only held the office, however, for some three years, and died in 1694.

With the restoration of Gunning, Tillotson's intimate connection with the College ceased, and it is with this that we are here concerned; the service which he rendered it was great, and the love which he bore for it sincere; and we may think ourselves fortunate in possessing some twenty letters from his pen in the College Library.

Tillotson's sermons were long held in the highest esteem, and regarded as a model for pulpit oratory. Burnet declared that he seemed to have brought preaching to

<sup>1</sup> "Yet none more freely recognise (your services) than Gownsmen, especially those in the University."

<sup>2</sup> The lease to Cromwell was of a small piece of land in Ely, and was dated 6 Oct. 1636, for 21 years from the preceding Michs.



## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: PETER GUNNING, BISHOP OF ELY

perfection; and Locke recommended him as a model for perspicuity and propriety in language; but in this, as in other matters, we feel that Dr Johnson shewed his excellent good sense. Readers of Boswell will remember the dialogue which ensued when Boswell asked him (in 1778) what were the best English sermons for style:

BOSWELL: "Tillotson?" JOHNSON: "Why, not now; I should not advise a preacher at this day to imitate Tillotson's style; though I don't know; I should be cautious of objecting to what has been applauded by so many suffrages."

After Tillotson the best known Clare man, in the seventeenth century, is probably Peter Gunning.

He was born in 1614 at Hoo, in Kent, educated at the King's School, Canterbury, and came up to Clare in 1629. He took his degree, being placed first in the list, in 1633. Two years later he was elected a Fellow. Oley in a letter written about 1640 to David Cecil (who had been with him at Clare and had recently succeeded his father as Earl of Exeter), recommends Gunning, who had been his pupil, as Chaplain to the Earl. Gunning, however, still continued in his Fellowship at Clare, from which he was expelled, for not taking the Covenant, in 1644. This particular Fellowship was subsequently held, as we have seen, by Tillotson, and at the Restoration Gunning insisted, with somewhat indecent vehemence, upon his ejection. We must, however, not forget that Gunning had suffered much for his loyalty, and make due allowance also for *odium theologicum*, the two men being theologically poles apart.

He was restored to his Fellowship 20 June 1660, and created D.D. the next day, by *mandamus*. He was elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the same year, and shortly afterwards promoted to the Regius Professorship. He was also elected Master of Corpus Christi College, and within a year to the Mastership of St John's College. He held the Mastership of St John's for some nine years, till appointed Bishop of Chichester in 1669: from Chichester he was translated to Ely<sup>1</sup> in 1675 and died in 1684.

Gunning took a leading part in the Savoy Conference and was obviously a man of great reputation. We wonder if another example can be cited of a man who held successively two Professorships, two Masterships of Colleges other than his own, and two Bishoprics. At the present day he is, probably, best remembered as the composer of the "Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men."

We naturally contrast Gunning with Tillotson, and in one respect at least he leaves with us a more favourable impression than Tillotson.

Tillotson did great things for the College; he secured from Cromwell considerable

<sup>1</sup> The famous Gunning tree still flourishes in the garden of the Bishop's Palace at Ely; its dimensions are best appreciated from the cathedral tower or lantern.

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

compensation for the loss which it had sustained; he persuaded Diggons to leave his estate to Clare to found Fellowships and Scholarships; he instigated the Executors of John Jones, Esq. to make a gift of £200 to the Building Fund; but his personal benefaction appears to have been no more than £30.

Gunning appears far more liberal. He gave personally £200 in his lifetime, and bequeathed £300 for the rebuilding of the Chapel.

And yet Tillotson was so generous that he died penniless, would indeed have died in debt had not King William forgiven him his first-fruits.

We may perhaps surmise that his ardent devotion to Clare during the Commonwealth became somewhat lukewarm after the Restoration; nor can we be much surprised if this were so; he must have felt that, after all he had done for Clare, he had been ill rewarded by being superseded in his Fellowship.

The portrait of Tillotson given here is a curiosity, and one that only came to public light some two years ago. We may be pardoned therefore in quoting the following from *The Times* for January 23rd, 1925:

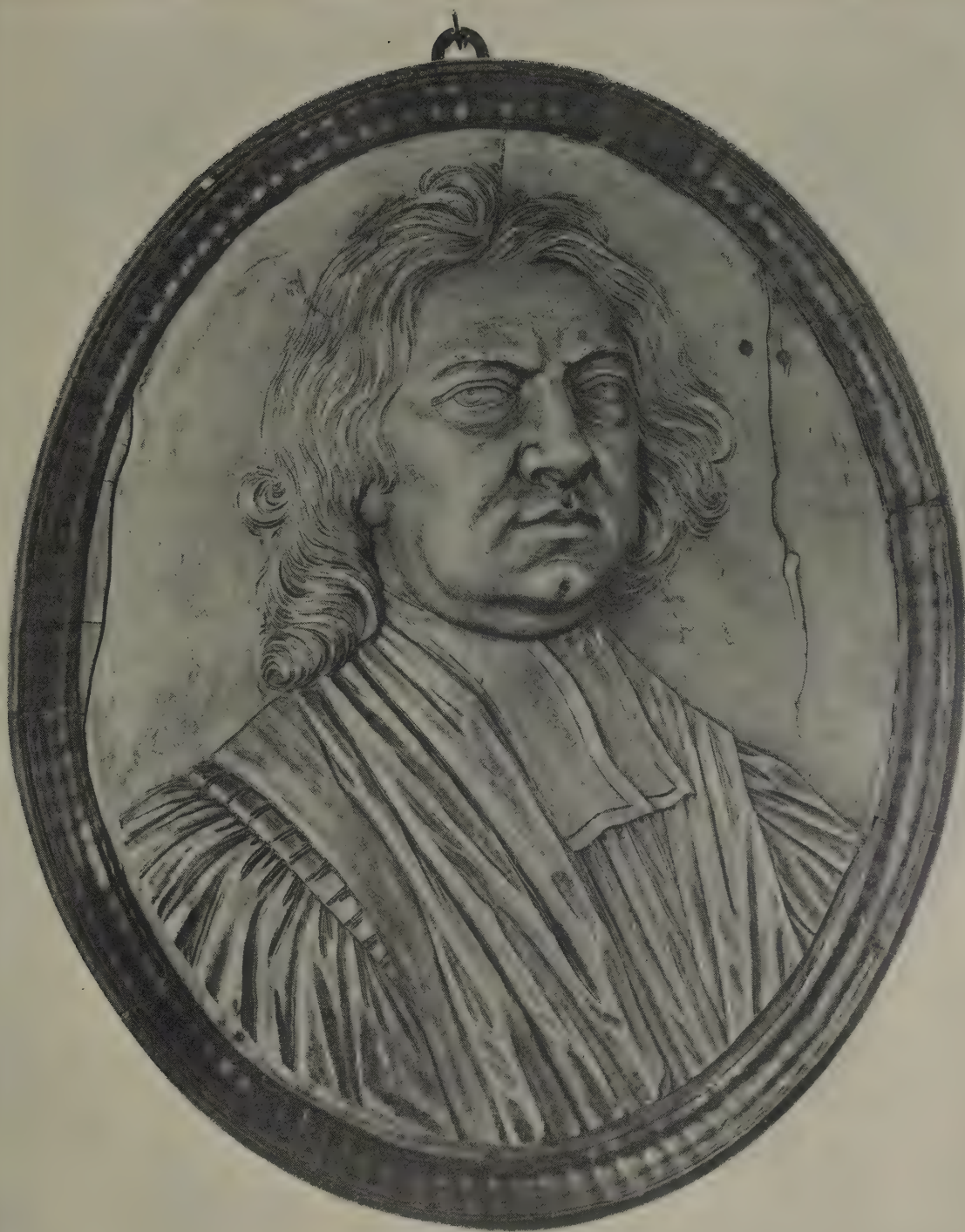
The Department of Sculpture of the Victoria and Albert Museum has just acquired a medallion portrait of Archbishop Tillotson (1630–1694), sculptured in relief on pearwood. It is rather characteristic of English pearwood portraiture, being vigorous and full of life and evidently executed by an accomplished carver in wood. It is interesting, not only as a work of art but also, especially at this moment, when an appeal is being made on behalf of St Paul's, as the portrait of a very distinguished man who, in his day, had close connexions with the City of London, and was for a time... Dean of St Paul's...preacher at Lincoln's Inn and...Tuesday lecturer at St Lawrence Jewry.

Dr Tillotson was the finest preacher of his time in this country. His contemporary, Burnet, described him as the best preacher of his age. ...Dryden ascribed what talent he possessed for prose to his familiarity with Tillotson. ...Tillotson's first famous sermon on "The Wisdom of being Religious" (1664) was dedicated to the Lord Mayor of London, and it has been noted that the dedication curiously anticipated the "advertisement" to Butler's *Analogy*, with this difference, that by Butler's time (largely owing to the labours of Tillotson's school) the atheism of the age had given place to deism. Tillotson married Elizabeth French, a niece of Oliver Cromwell, and it is related of her that when he sought her hand and she desired to be excused, her step-father, John Wilkins, said: "Betty, you shall have him, for he is the best polemical<sup>1</sup> divine this day in England."...After his death his widow received from the booksellers for his sermons the unusually large sum for that time of 2500 guineas.

It may here be remarked that the College has been represented, but never by more than a single *alumnus*, in many of the chief offices of state. Nicholas Heath, as we have seen, was Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor. The Duke of Newcastle and Charles Townshend have been, as we are about to see, our only Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer respectively, while Cornwallis, the leading British soldier of his day, may be regarded as our only Field-Marshal as well as

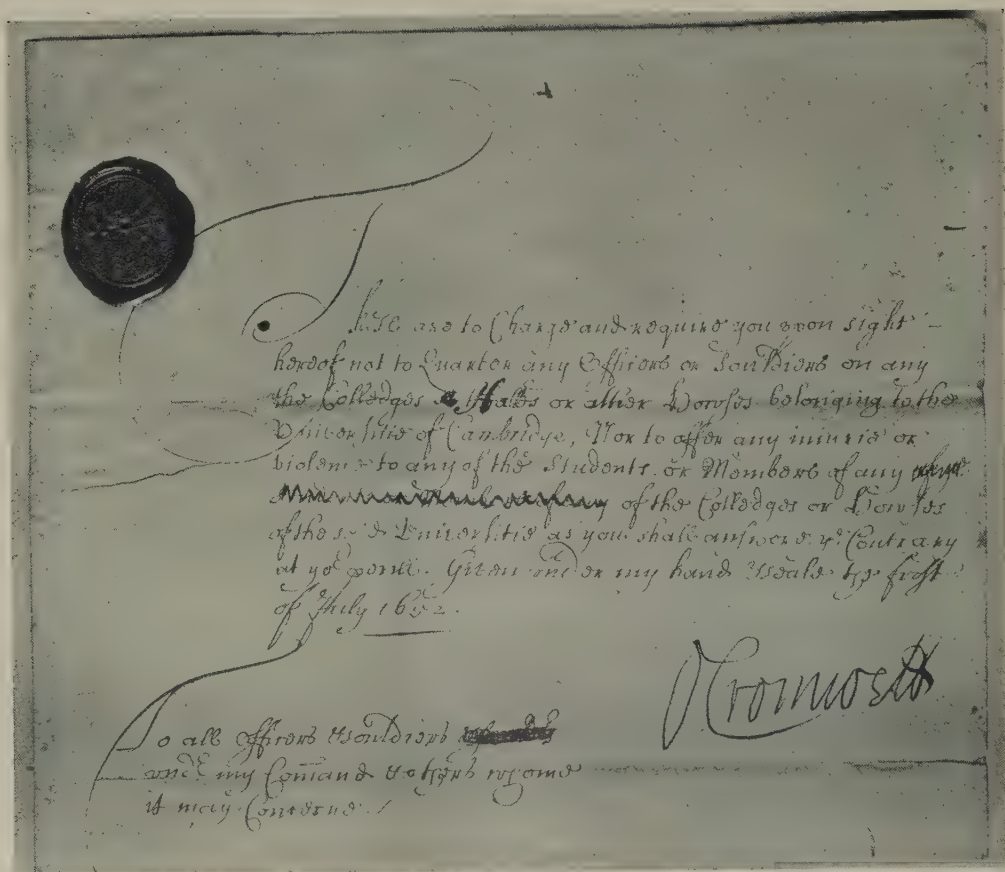
<sup>1</sup> In spite of his conciliatory temperament, Tillotson knew how to retort. He had, e.g., by some means incurred the displeasure of Sir John Trevor, who had been expelled the House of Commons for several misdemeanours. Sir John, one day meeting Tillotson, cried out, "I hate to see an atheist in the shape of a churchman!" "And I," replied the Archbishop, "hate to see a knave in any shape." (*Facetiae Cantabrigienses*, 1825.)





*Reproduction on same scale from the pearwood medallion in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington*

JOHN TILLOTSON, 1630-1694  
Archbishop of Canterbury



From the College Letter Book

## A CROMWELL MANIFESTO

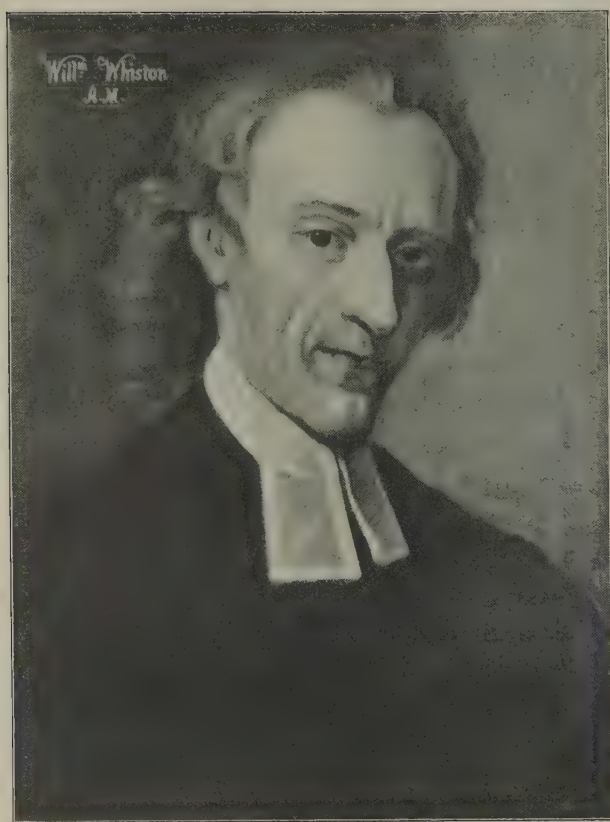




Peter Gunning Bishop of Ely.  
*after Loggan.*

*Petrus Episcopus*

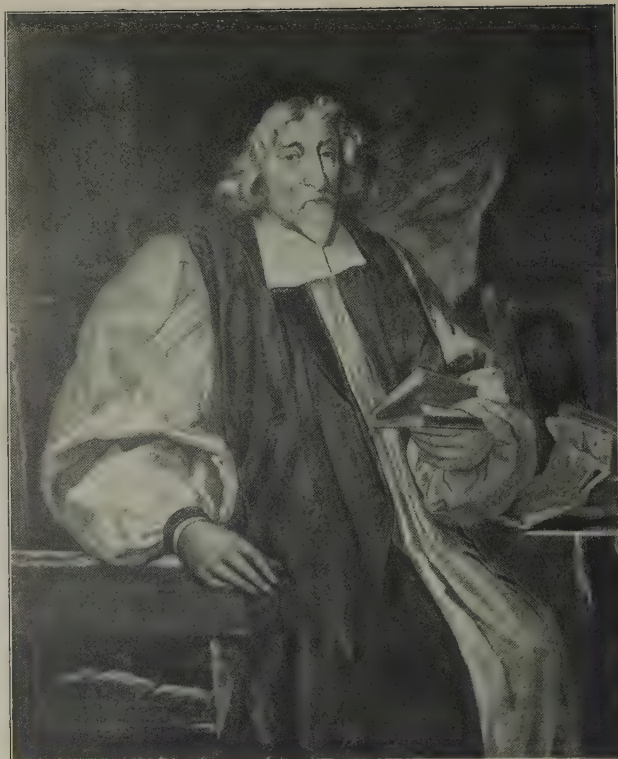
1614-1684



*From the painting in the Combination Room*

WILLIAM WHISTON

1667-1752

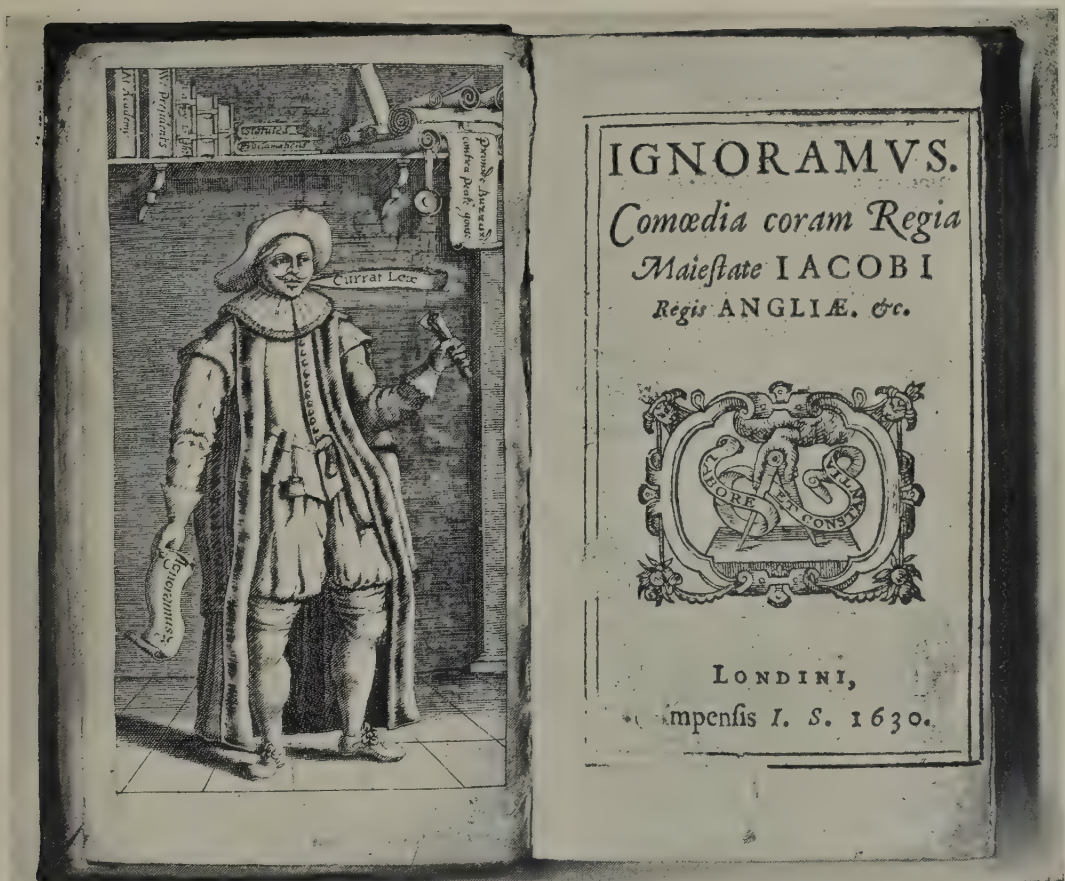


*From the painting in the College Hall*

PETER GUNNING

Bishop of Ely, 1614-1684





RUGGLE'S *IGNORAMUS*

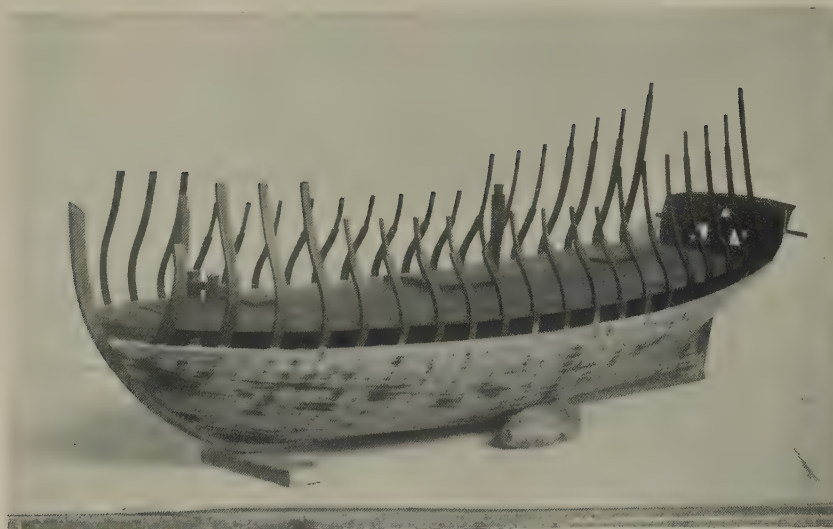
Title-page of the  
first edition

*By kind permission of the  
Master and Fellows of  
St John's College,  
Cambridge*

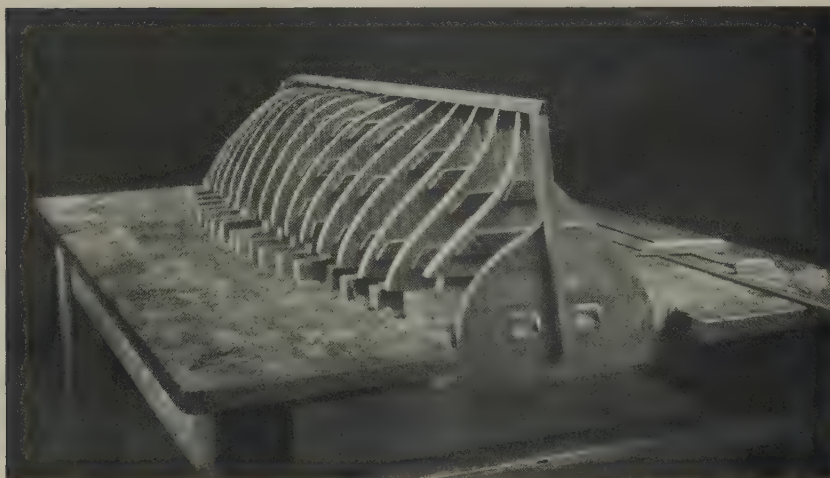


WILLIAM WHISTON

Facsimile of the wooden pipe-stopper at the National Portrait Gallery



*By courtesy of "The Mariner's Mirror"*



*By courtesy of "The Mariner's Mirror"*

THE MAYFLOWER MODEL IN THE MAKING

Design of R. C. Anderson (Clare College, 1902-4, late editor of *The Mariner's Mirror*)



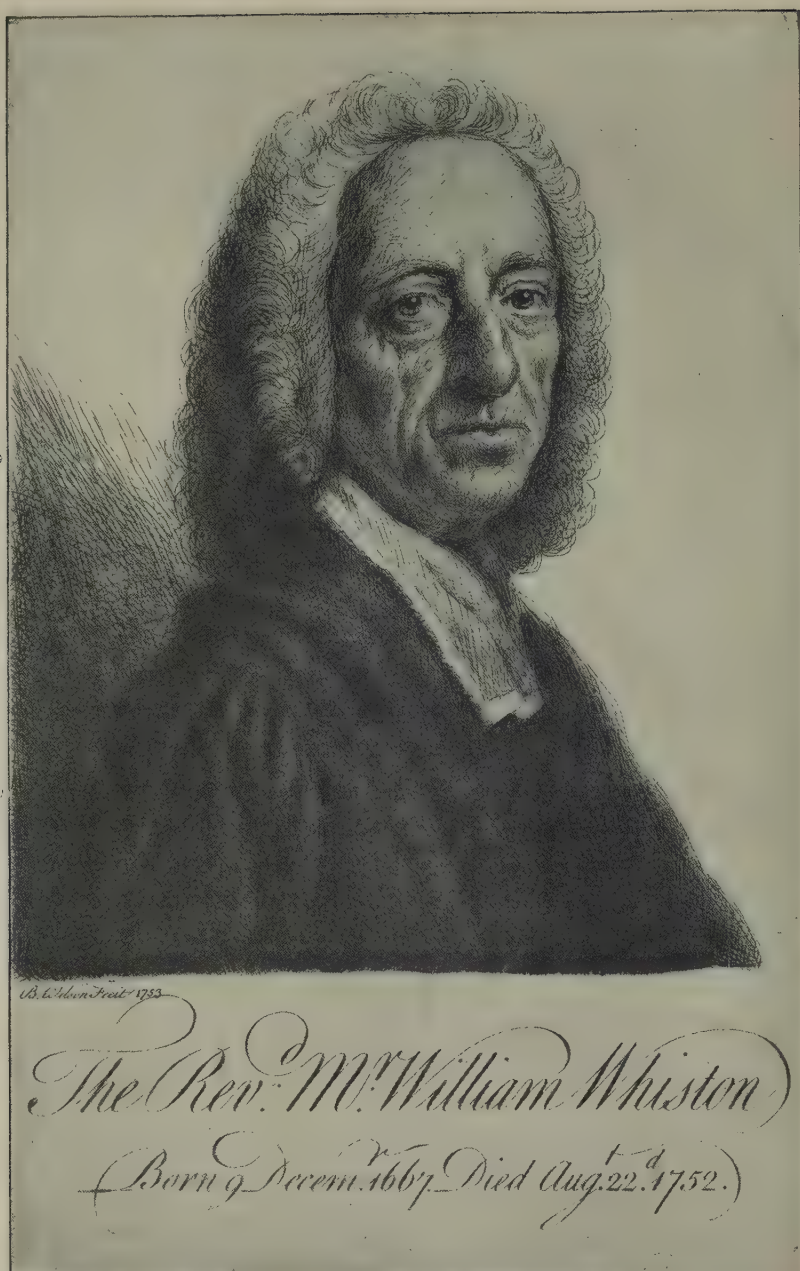


*By courtesy of "The Mariner's Mirror"*



*By courtesy of "The Mariner's Mirror"*

THE MAYFLOWER MODEL



From an etching in possession of Clare College



## SAMUEL BLITHE AND WILLIAM WHISTON

our only Viceroy of Ireland and Governor-General of India. From these it is a far cry to our single Poet Laureate, William Whitehead.

It cannot however be stated, with absolute conviction, that Tillotson was our sole Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Langton (d. 1491), Bishop of Winchester and Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, is said to have moved from Queen's College, Oxford, to Clare Hall, to escape the Plague in 1460.

If Langton were at Clare, it can only have been for a very short time; his name does not appear in any of our College Books, and the statement in Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* appears to dispose of the slender grounds upon which he has been assigned, if for only a year, to Clare<sup>1</sup>.

Upon the death of Dr Dillingham in 1678, Dr Samuel Blithe (or Blythe) was elected to succeed him. The votes upon the occasion have not been preserved, the election being presumably a hurried one.

It appears from a note in the Admission-Book that Nathaniel Vincent, a Fellow of the College, endeavoured to obtain a *mandamus* for his own election as Master, but in this "he was disappointed by the Society's chusing Dr Blyth before he could serve them with it." This incident is worth recording as a glaring example of the way in which the Crown thought proper then to interfere in purely College matters.

Dr Blithe, by his bequest (described in the Chapter on College Livings), was one of our greatest benefactors; but we owe him our gratitude also for the very interesting letters of the period which he preserved, extracts from which have been here repeatedly quoted.

The story of the College during Blithe's Mastership presents no features of special interest; the disputes which prevailed in Clare at the time are wearisome and painful to read, the more particularly so as we can only judge of the Conservative party (headed by Robert Herne) from the assertions of the other side with William Whiston as its principal mouthpiece, who may have expressed himself more violently than necessary. But whatever the merits of these particular disputes, it must not be forgotten that Whiston was a man with ideas in advance of his times, and that in some important aspects of his reforming zeal he was essentially in the right; his friendship too with Richard Laughton is in itself a testimonial to his worth.

William Whiston has given us, in his *Memoirs*, a long account of his own life. His father was Rector of Norton-juxta-Twycrosse, in Leicestershire, where he was born 9 December 1667. He was educated at Tamworth school for less than two years, and was admitted at Clare 30 June 1686, coming into residence the following September. There, as he himself tells us, he "earnestly pursued his studies, particularly the Mathematics, eight hours in a day." He took his degree in 1689-90, being

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

twenty-fourth in the Tripos list of his year—one of the most striking examples of a man who failed, comparatively speaking, in examination.

He was elected a Fellow 16 July 1691; but his health, which had always been poor, soon afterwards gave way. He transferred his pupils to his friend R. Laughton, some five years his senior, and became chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, Dr John Moore, a former Fellow of Clare and a distinguished scholar.

When Sir Isaac Newton finally resigned the Lucasian chair of Mathematics in Cambridge, in 1702, Whiston succeeded to his place; but from this chair, and from the University, he was expelled some nine years later for holding Arian doctrines.

Thereupon he withdrew to London and lectured on astronomy. A prosecution of him, as a heretic, was commenced, but proceedings were finally ended by an act of grace in 1715.

Excluded from the Sacrament at his parish church, he performed the service in his own house with a liturgy of his own; finally he found himself in greatest sympathy with the Baptists.

Of his many writings, his translation of Josephus, which appeared in 1737, is the one by which he was best known. He died in 1752.

Considering the views that he held, we are not surprised to find that his orthodox contemporaries are very severe in their strictures upon Whiston. That he was a man who habitually expressed himself with great vehemence, not to say violence, is evident from his letters in the College Library. But the opposition of colleagues is often combated by a man of reforming spirit in a manner more severe and bitter than is generally natural to him. In one of a series of three articles in the first volume of *The Lady Clare Magazine* the Rev. F. W. B. Frankland wrote of Whiston, "But if, as has been alleged, 'in his later life his mind seems to have lost its balance,' we have encountered no signs of such lack of mental equilibrium in his memoirs, written at eighty. Rather does there seem to be everywhere a breadth of view and a depth of sympathy astounding after eight decades of a life of the most continuous and concentrated thought."

Whiston was a great theologian as well as a great mathematician. That he could adopt a tolerant attitude in the matter of theological opinion is shown by the following extract from his memoirs. "Nor indeed by the by, could I ever prevail with myself to preach against our Dissenters, even when my Principles were very different from theirs; on Account of that Seriousness of Piety, which I found in many of them. Nor do I at this Day approve of one Party of Christians Preaching against another, where they are not allowed to plead for themselves; but think they had better all of them look into their own Errors, and leave them; and all of them unite upon



## WILLIAM WHISTON AND RICHARD LAUGHTON

the only wise Foundation, the Original Settlements of Primitive Christianity.” Frankland remarked, “The last few words give Whiston’s life-work, the attempt to further and popularise knowledge of the first centuries of the Christian era, and to restore ideals forgotten or hidden by lapse of time.” And again, “In 1711 Whiston published what he regarded as his *chef d’œuvre*, *Primitive Christianity Reviv’d*, in four octavo volumes, to which he added a fifth volume in the following year; and besides forming a ‘Society for promoting Primitive Christianity,’ he proposed to print ‘a cheap and correct Edition of all the Primitive Fathers’ up to Eusebius. A set of these books he wished to see in every parish of the kingdom. This splendid scheme of ‘the most conspicuous Cambridge resident of his day,’ far from receiving that support which we might conceive it thoroughly to have deserved from a seminary of sound learning and religious education, seems to have met with an absolute apathy, and Cambridge thus left to Oxford to do a work that now is universally associated with the movement that bears the name of the latter. Had his University responded to what was good in Whiston, what a Cambridge Movement the eighteenth century would have witnessed!” But doubtless the movement would have been away from and not towards the Roman Church, since from the same starting-point men will always diverge to different goals. The brother of John Henry Newman himself, likewise a mathematician, classicist and no mean theologian, became a Baptist and subsequently a Unitarian.

Whiston’s old patron, Bishop Moore, who must have known him intimately, and as a Bishop was not likely to be tolerant of his Arian doctrines, said of him “a very good man may be mistaken.” We may be content to accept the Bishop’s judgment and give him credit for good intentions; at least he was too truthful to affect an outward conformity; the troubles which wrecked his life at Cambridge were due to his own honesty in making no concealment of his real beliefs<sup>1</sup>.

Perhaps Clare owes more to Richard Laughton than to any other of its distinguished *alumni*, for his whole life was devoted to the service of the College, and the solitary preferment with which he was rewarded—and that only a few years before his death—was a prebend in Worcester Cathedral. It is, however, pleasant to find a man in those days so free from all desire for self-advancement; with his reputation, and his numerous acquaintances and admirers among the aristocracy, he could have had no difficulty in obtaining promotion had he desired it.

We cannot briefly express his services to the College better than by quoting the words of Dr Colbatch in his Commemoration sermon at Trinity in 1717: “We see

<sup>1</sup> The College Library contains the original MS of the (once famous) mock “Trial of William Whiston, clerk, for defaming and denying the Holy Trinity, before the Lord Chief Justice Reason,” by Thomas Gordon.

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

what a confluence of nobility and gentry the virtue of one man daily draws to one of our least Colleges.”

From 1707–20 practically every man—and certainly every distinguished man—at Clare is recorded as being entered as his pupil; and we may note that Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary of Leeds, in his diary couples his name with that of Bentley, at Cambridge:

Thursday 8 July visited Dr Bentley, Master of Trinity; then at Clare Hall, to visit and consult the famous pupil-monger, Mr Laughton, to whom I was recommended by the Bishop of Ely. . . .:

and writes of him (Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicæ*, p. 68):

His lectures had probably been on Newtonian principles for the whole or the greater part of his tutorship; but it is certain that for some years (before 1710) he had been diligently inculcating these doctrines and that the credit and popularity of his college had risen very high in consequence of his reputation.

Richard Laughton was born at Holborn, and admitted, as a Sizar, 20 October 1680. After taking his B.A. and M.A. degrees, he proceeded S.T.P. in 1717. He was elected a Fellow 14 December 1686, was Proctor 1709–10, and died in London on his way from Worcester to Cambridge July 1723.

Shortly after his election as a Fellow, he accepted the charge of two nephews of the Marchioness of Antrim, in Holland: his letter to Thomas Henchman (afterwards Fellow) giving a pleasant and chatty account of his life at Utrecht has been preserved in the College Letter-Book.

His pupils were to spend a year or two in Holland, and then travel in France. Probably Laughton stayed with them till the tour was over; a letter (4 May 1693) of his friend, William Whiston, indicates that he had then been back in Clare for some time.

We next meet with him, as a candidate for a Senior Fellowship, in 1697: Laughton appears to have, in some way or other, incurred the hostility of the Master (Dr Blithe) at this time. His letter to Blithe on the subject (December 1697) is excellent; entirely loyal, but inflexibly resolute.

Thomas Pelham (afterwards Duke of Newcastle) who entered as his pupil in March, 1709, had evidently become much attached to his Tutor, for Lord Pelham, his father, wrote (23 August 1711) a most courteous and pressing invitation to Laughton to leave Cambridge and come to Halland, in Sussex, to live with his son. He proposed a salary of “£200, with all the accommodations in his family that Laughton could desire, at the very least,” and “the utmost respect and the most sincere friendship for as long as that sort of life can be agreeable to you.” Perhaps it was Laughton’s experience as Proctor in the preceding year that caused Lord Pelham to think that he might be tempted to leave Cambridge.



## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: RICHARD LAUGHTON

Laughton's tenure, above referred to, of the Proctorship created some considerable stir; the story is told in full in Monk's *Life of Bentley*, I, 286-8.

Admirable as was his conduct in general, Laughton seems to have been misled on one occasion by political partisanship and to have behaved in a very high-handed way when as Senior Proctor he attempted to use his authority to disperse a meeting of their supporters held at the Rose Tavern by the two representatives in Parliament of the University; when they indignantly refused, he attempted to represent their conduct as an open insult to him in the discharge of his Proctorial duties!

A few years later, upon the death of Dr Blithe, in 1713, the Fellows failed to agree upon a new Head, and the appointment therefore lapsed to the Chancellor, the Duke of Somerset, as Visitor of the College, and he bestowed it upon William Grigg, a Fellow of Jesus College.

This was doubtless a severe blow to the Progressives in Clare, the heads of whom were Whiston and Laughton. On what grounds Laughton was objected to, it is not easy to say now; but a man of such strong character, and inclined to be overbearing, must have made enemies among those of a more easy-going temper, and it may be doubted how far a good Tutor is fitted to make a good Master. Probably Laughton was far more valuable to the College as Tutor than he could have ever been as Master.

Laughton, as we have seen, was an ardent enthusiast for the Newtonian philosophy and, to encourage its study in the University, undertook, when Proctor in 1710, the additional labour of serving as Moderator. A man *noscitur a sociis*, and Laughton's attitude towards University affairs may be inferred from his friendship with William Whiston and Dr Bentley. So close was his intimacy with the latter that Laughton is recorded to have brought six of his brother Fellows from Clare to vote against the Grace to deprive the great scholar of his degrees, and he is the Laughton to whom foreign savants so frequently send their compliments in Bentley's correspondence.

Dr Goddard's note against his name, in the Admission-Book, after stating that he was the most eminent Tutor in the University, both for the good discipline he introduced into the College, the care and instruction of his pupils, and his encouragement of merit in young scholars, ends with the words *sit anima mea cum anima Laughtoni*: we ourselves would wish the same.

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

John Wilcox, next to be mentioned, was Master 1736–62, having been admitted 3 July 1708 and elected a Fellow 17 February 1714. He became Sub-dean of York, a Prebendary of St Paul's, and Vicar of Kensington, to which last he was presented by Bishop Gibson, whose son he had tutored. The Duke of Newcastle, Chancellor of the University, had also offered him the Archdeaconry of York, which, however, he declined, because he did not want the trouble and ceremony of an annual visitation. Wilcox died 16 September 1762, and by leaving all his fortune, except a few legacies, towards building a new Chapel, became one of our foremost benefactors. In view of this fact, and the assertion of his successor as Master, Dr Goddard, that he was of "great integrity," together with the reference to him in the *Capitade* (a contemporary, and by no means complimentary, skit on the leading men in Cambridge) as "good though gloomy W-c-x," we cannot accept the insinuation<sup>1</sup> that his death was caused or hastened by his indulgence in alcohol.

Peter [Stephen] Goddard, who was elected Master after Wilcox, was the son of a French barber, and was born in Cambridge, where his father was living; whether he is to be identified with *Peter Goddard* admitted to Merchant Taylors' in 1718 is uncertain (Goddard appears at first as "*Peter*" only, in our records, and not as *Peter Stephen* till after 1727).

He was elected a Fellow in 1727, and in 1747 was presented to the living of Fornham, and to that of Westley, when it fell vacant, in 1749. He was chosen Master 25 September 1762 and lived till 1781, dying 25 October of that year. He was a life-long friend of Richard Terrick, Bishop of Peterborough and later of London; to whom he was indebted for a Prebend at Peterborough.

A notable preacher (he was called "the young Tillotson"), Goddard published in 1781 a volume of sermons, dedicated to the Duke of Newcastle, who had—as Earl of Lincoln—been his pupil. He had evidently looked for the patronage of both him and his uncle, the previous Duke of Newcastle and Chancellor of the University; they had ignored him, and the neglect had rankled; in fact his disappointment seems to have somewhat affected his brain in his old age, if we may judge from his book's extraordinary dedication.

Of John Torkington, Master 1781–1815, little need be said. He was the son of the Rev. James Torkington, Rector of Little Stukeley, Hunts, by his wife, Dorothy, daughter of Philip Sherard, 2nd Earl of Harborough.

We look in vain in Gunning for stories about him; the only thing that seems to have struck Gunning is the excellence of the dinners which he gave as Vice-Chancellor.

Why he overlooked the following incident, we cannot imagine; the story was first

<sup>1</sup> See the footnote on p. 44 of *The Cambridge Review* for 29 October 1920.



## TORKINGTON AND WEBB, MASTERS OF CLARE

told in Clare many years ago by the late Mr F. Norgate, who had heard it, he said, as a boy (about 1835) from his Head Master at Norwich. It has since appeared in print (Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 427) as follows: "Porson was invited by the Syndics of the Cambridge Press to edit Aeschylus; but his offer to visit Florence with a view to collating the Laurentian MS was unfortunately rejected, Dr Torkington, Master of Clare and Vice-Chancellor, gravely suggesting that Mr Porson might *collect* his MS at home."

Torkington was Vice-Chancellor 1783-4, just after Porson took his B.A. degree in 1782; Porson had applied, apparently, to the Worts Fund for a grant to enable him to go to Florence, with the result narrated.

The last Master to be mentioned before we come to modern times is Dr William Webb, who held the office from his election in July 1815 to his death 4 January 1856.

He took his degree, *in prima quaestionistarum classe*, by *aegrotat*, in 1797, was elected to a Fellowship two years later, and was chosen Master in 1815. He had been preferred by the College in the preceding May to the living of Fornham-All-Saints with Westley, but his Fellowship had not expired, thanks to his year of grace. He married the daughter of his predecessor at Fornham, the Rev. T. V. Gould, a union which gave rise to a rather neat epigram written by the Rev. James Chartres, of King's:

Tela fuit simplex; cupiens decus addere Telae,  
Fecit Hymen geminam, puroque intexuit Auro.

Single no more, a double Webb behold!  
Hymen embroidered it with virgin Gould.

Whatever Webb's reputation for learning may have been, he was undoubtedly a good man of business. He successfully carried through the final negotiations with King's College over Butt Close, the land occupied by the Clare avenue and River Garden being at last parted with to Clare in place of the renewable lease by which it had been held for nearly two hundred years; and, what is more important, he substituted for the old system of low rents, with heavy fines for renewal, the far better method of reasonable rents without fine.

Doubtless the rise in the value of land at this time and the Enclosures Act were largely responsible for the considerable increase in our revenues, but Dr Webb undoubtedly deserves credit for his financial skill as Master and Bursar.

This was, however, only during his more vigorous years; towards the end of his life—he lived to be over eighty—the accounts of the College and those of Dr Webb's own property got mixed together, and it required much labour on the part of his successor, our late Master, to disentangle them.

Webb appears to have been anything but academic in his disposition; his abilities

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

lay in the management of estates, and he was a keen agriculturist<sup>1</sup>, with a special partiality—if tradition speaks true—for a particular brand of pig. He was nicknamed “Buckets” by the flippant undergraduates, probably because he wore country boots of a size unusual in the town. The late Canon Beck told a good story about this: in October 1861 there was a fire one night in Trinity Hall, and a message was sent to the neighbouring College to request the Master for help to enable them to carry water. “Buckets!” cried the old man; “we haven’t any buckets; but you are welcome to use my boots.”

We cannot fail to be struck by the length of time during which our Masters in recent years have held the office—Torkington for nearly thirty-four years, Webb for over forty, and Atkinson for over fifty-nine: in short the Masterships of the last two together covered a period of just over a century. Torkington died shortly after Waterloo<sup>2</sup>, Webb during the Crimean War, and Atkinson seven months after the outbreak of the Great War. Nothing short, indeed, of a general conflagration seemed able to bring about the demise of a Master of Clare; but the Royal Commission has now seen to it that if he will not de cease, he shall at least retire.

Though politics engross the Sons of Clare,  
Nor yields the State one moment to the Fair. . . .

The most striking aspect of Clare’s activities in the eighteenth century, its intimate connection with several of the leading political families and movements of the times, called forth this well known couplet in the Music Speech at the Public Commencement in Cambridge on 6 July 1730. From its context it seems a gibe, but if it is exaggerated, it is “*exagération à propos*.” For not only was Clare, for the best part of a century, the adopted college of three of the great Whig families who dominated for a generation the destinies of the land—the houses of Pelham, Townshend and Cornwallis—but the College also took its part in the training of several scions of important Colonial families, who, returning to their homes in America, were destined to play decisive rôles in the politics of the War of Independence, and in the creation of the United States of America through the processes by which the separate

<sup>1</sup> Shortly after Webb’s election to the Mastership, a stampeded cow sought sympathetic refuge in the College. The incident and the beast’s removal, under Webb’s personal directions, from rooms on the second floor of staircase D is graphically described in the College Magazine for the Easter Term of 1906 (Vol. v, No. 3).

<sup>2</sup> With the memories of war, and of the mere handful of undergraduates then in the University, fresh in our minds, we may well compare the situation then with the situation in 1785–1815. We find that during the 2½ years January 1787–June 1789 *there was not a single entry at Clare*. In the latter half of 1789, however, there were 14; and from 1790 to 1815 (25 years) there were 211 entries—or an average of just over 8. In 1816 there were 18, and thenceforward the normal entry of from 15 to 18 reappears. It will be seen from these statistics that the period of greatest strain and uncertainty was from 1787 to the middle of 1789, but the average entry from 1800 to 1804 was only 5, and in 1807 only 2 men were entered.



## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PELHAMS & TOWNSHENDS

colonial territories came self-consciously to realize themselves as developed political States.

Hitherto, as we have seen, our distinguished *alumni* had made their mark, almost without exception, in one branch or another of academic study, in the Church, in the Law, and in Medicine.

The eighteenth century brought to Clare a fresh class of undergraduates, and for this Laughton's reputation as a tutor was no doubt primarily responsible. We can still point to many who upheld the reputation of their College as scholars and divines, and in other walks of life, but it is undoubtedly the number of members of the aristocracy and of future politicians, who during the space of some fifty years entered Clare, that most attracts our attention in an epoch that saw the high summer of the English aristocrat.

How closely these great east county families were interrelated, and how intimate were their connections with Clare and with high office, can be seen at a glance from the pedigree table here given. Charles Cornwallis, the first Earl, was admitted in 1717, to be followed in 1755 by his still more famous son. The Pelhams are represented at Clare by Thomas Pelham (son of Baron Pelham of Laughton), afterwards Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Chancellor of the University: by his nephew Henry Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln: by Thomas Pelham, who was created Baron Pelham of Stanmer and Earl of Chichester, and by two of his sons, Thomas, 2nd Earl of Chichester and Postmaster-General, and George, successively Bishop of Bristol, Exeter, and Lincoln. Of eleven members of the Townshend family who took their degrees at Cambridge no fewer than six were at Clare. They were, first, Thomas Townshend (second son of Charles, second Viscount Townshend), admitted 1727, M.P. for the University for nearly 50 years, from 1727 to 1774. His son Thomas, admitted in 1750 and created Viscount Sydney of St Leonards, Gloucester, in 1789, is best remembered by Goldsmith's lines on Edmund Burke:

Though fraught with all learning, yet straining his throat  
To persuade Tommy Townshend to lend him a vote.  
(*Retaliation*, 34-5.)

He played an important part in the first settling of convicts in Australia in 1786. After the War of Independence malefactors could no longer be sent to America, and West Africa, which was next tried, had proved a death trap.

The first expedition to Australia sailed in 1787, and in the following year a town was founded and called after the Secretary of State. The second Viscount Sydney, John Thomas, was admitted in 1781. The son of the 3rd Viscount Townshend, Charles, was admitted in 1742. He later became Chancellor of the Exchequer. His cousin, also Charles, was admitted in 1747 and, becoming Secretary of the British

Sir William Cavendish of Welbeck, = Margaret Lucas,  
Marquess and Duke of Newcastle,  
d. 1676

Henry, 2nd Duke of Newcastle,  
d. 1691

Lady Margaret Cavendish = John Holles, Earl of Clare,  
created Duke of Newcastle  
1694

Gilbert, Earl of Clare

Sir John Pelham

Sir Thomas Pelham, 1st Baron Pelham,  
of Laughton, Sussex

Sir Francis Clinton,  
6th Earl of Lincoln  
Sussex

Charles,  
2. Dorothy = 2nd Visct. Townshend, = 1. Elizabeth  
Walpole  
Secretary of State with  
Walpole 1721-30  
Sir Robert, ("Turnip Townshend")  
Prime Minister,  
d. 1745

Charles,  
4th Lord  
Cornwallis

Thomas Pelham or Pelham-  
Holles [Clare 1709-10], Earl  
of Clare 1714, Duke of New-  
castle 1715, Baron Pelham  
of Stanmer 1752, 1st Lord  
of Treasury 1754-6, Coal-  
ition with Pitt 1757-62,  
o.s.p. 1768

Catharine Manners 1726, =  
Henry Pelham (King's  
Duke of Rutland  
1709), 1st Lord of Treas-  
ury, Chancellor of Ex-  
chequer 1743-54, d. 1754

Henry, 7th Earl  
of Lincoln

George Clinton  
(Admiral)

Sir Henry Clinton,  
Commander-in-Chief in America  
1778

Thomas, of Stanmer

Horatio  
Audrey Harrison =  
[M.A. Clare 1749]

Charles,  
3rd Visct.  
Townshend

Elizabeth = Charles  
Cornwallis Hon. Thomas  
1700-62 [Clare 1717], [Clare 1727], M.P. for  
Visct. and Earl 1753 Cambridge University  
1727-74

Hon. William  
Townshend

Catharine Pelham =  
(eldest of four  
daughters)

Henry Clinton 1730, 9th  
Earl of Lincoln [Clare 1737],  
nephew and nephew-in-law  
of Thomas, Duke of New-  
castle, whom he succeeded  
as 2nd Duke in 1768,  
d. 1794

Thomas Pelham [Clare  
1745], succeeded his 1st  
cousin once removed,  
Thomas, Duke of New-  
castle, as 6th Bart. and  
2nd Baron Stanmer,  
Earl of Chichester 1801

George, 1st Marquis  
Townshend 1786,  
1767 Lord Lieutenant  
(the first resident) of  
Ireland

Hon. Charles Townshend  
[Clare 1742 and 1749],  
Chancellor of Exchequer  
1766

Charles Cornwallis, Visct. Brome  
[Clare 1755], 2nd Earl, 1st Mar-  
quis Cornwallis, Commander-in-  
Chief in America, Viceroy of Ire-  
land, Governor-General of India

Thomas Townshend  
[Clare 1750],  
1st Visct. Sydney of  
St Leonards d. 1800

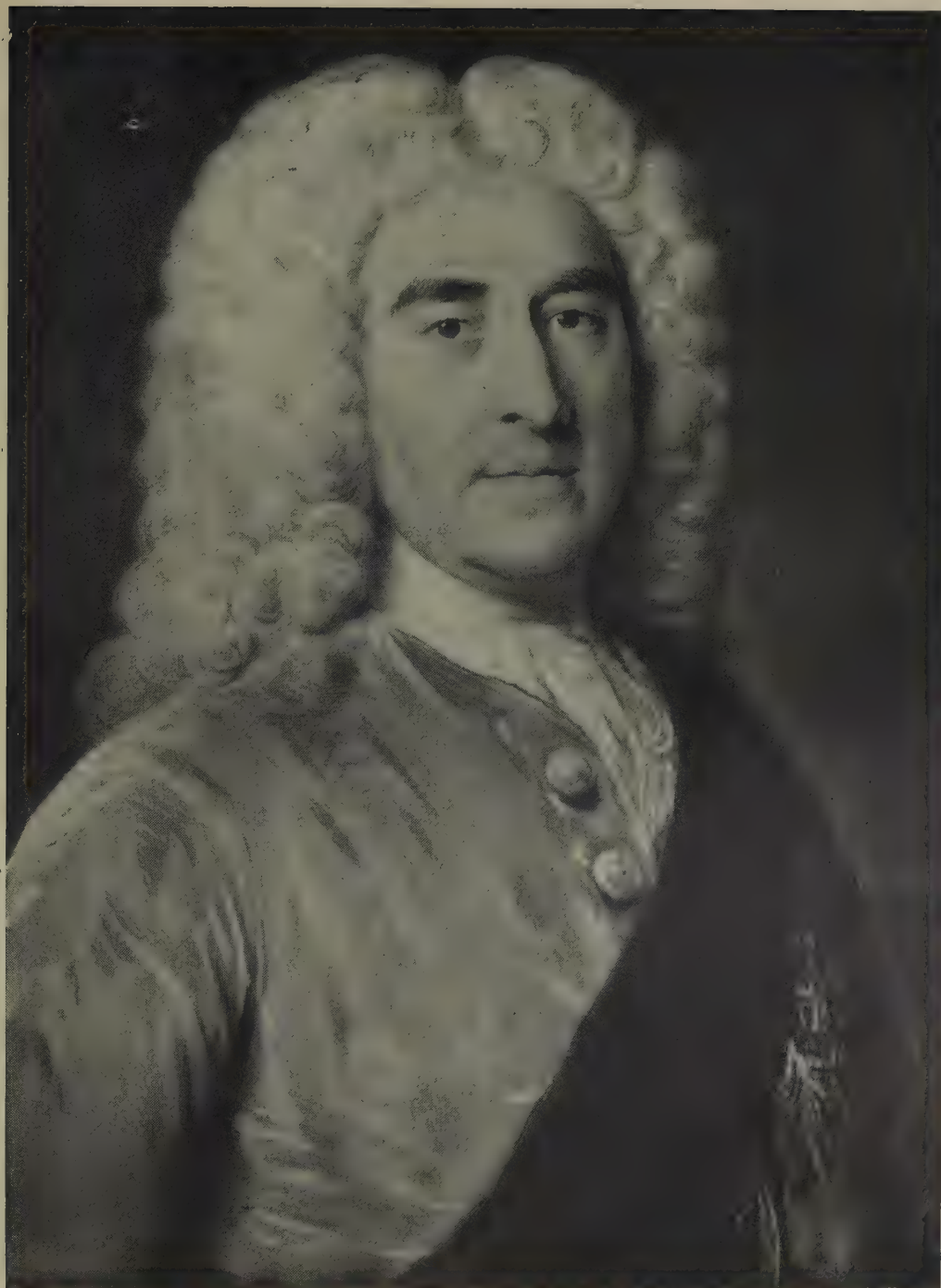
Charles Townshend  
"Spanish Charles"  
[Clare 1749]  
1797 created Baron  
Bayning

John Thomas Townshend  
[Clare 1781],  
2nd Visct. Sydney

George, Bishop of Bristol,  
Exeter, Lincoln [Clare]

Thomas, 2nd Earl of Chichester  
[Clare]  
Postmaster-General





*After the crayon drawing by W. Hoare in the National Portrait Gallery*

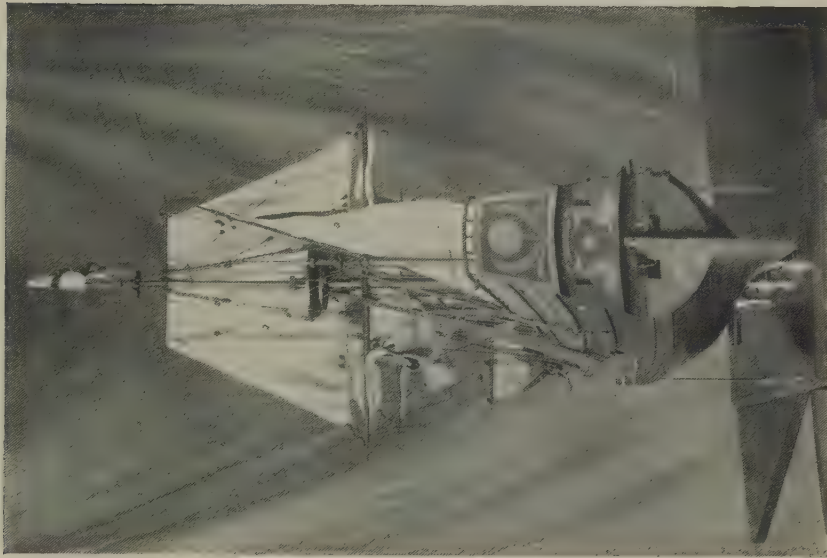
THOMAS PELHAM-HOLLES

1693-1768

EARL OF CLARE AND DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

First Lord of the Treasury

1754-62



*By courtesy of the "Mariner's Mirror"*

THE MAYFLOWER MODEL

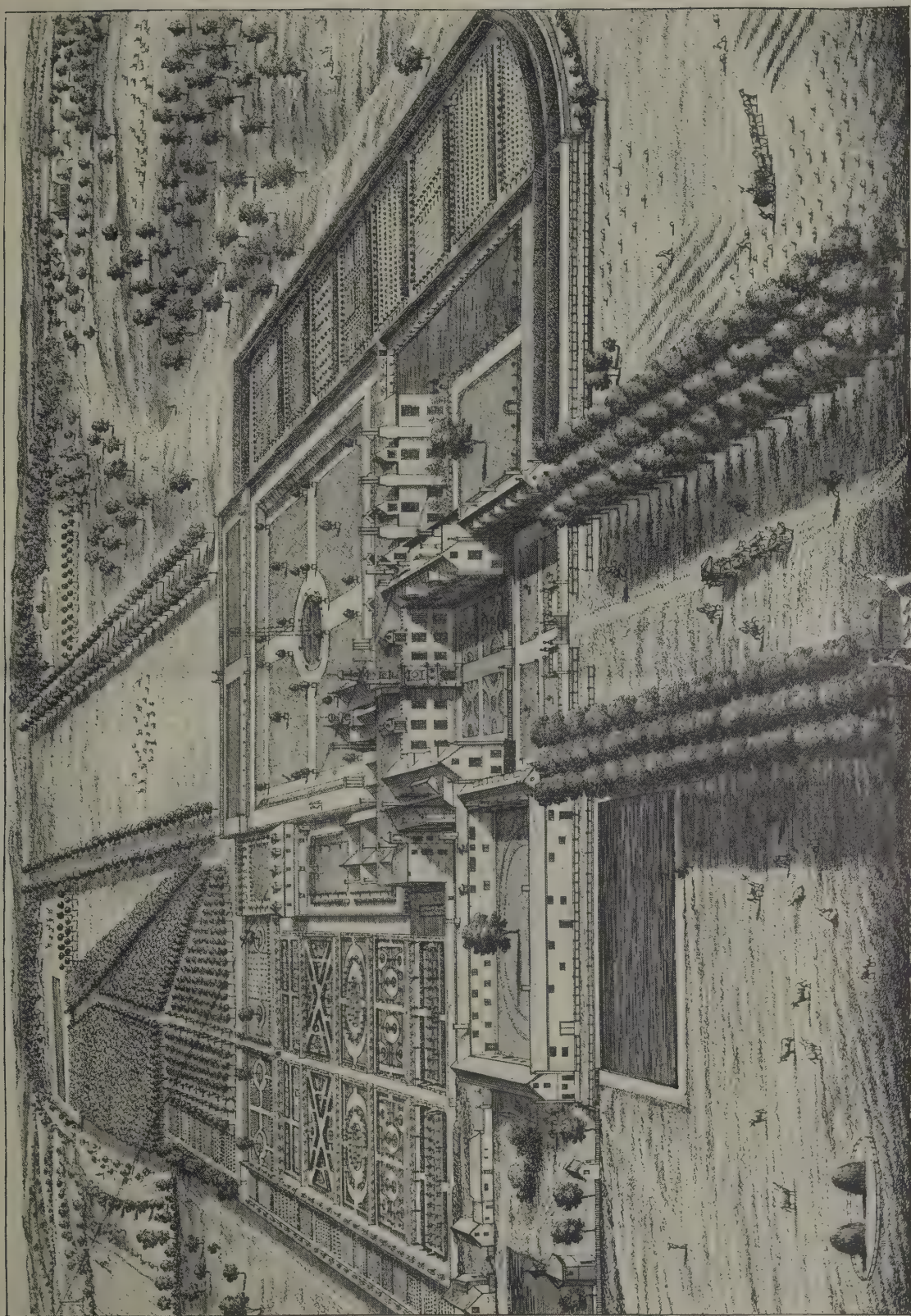


*After the oil painting by Romney in the National Portrait Gallery*

CHARLES, EARL AND MARQUIS  
CORNWALLIS, 1738-1805

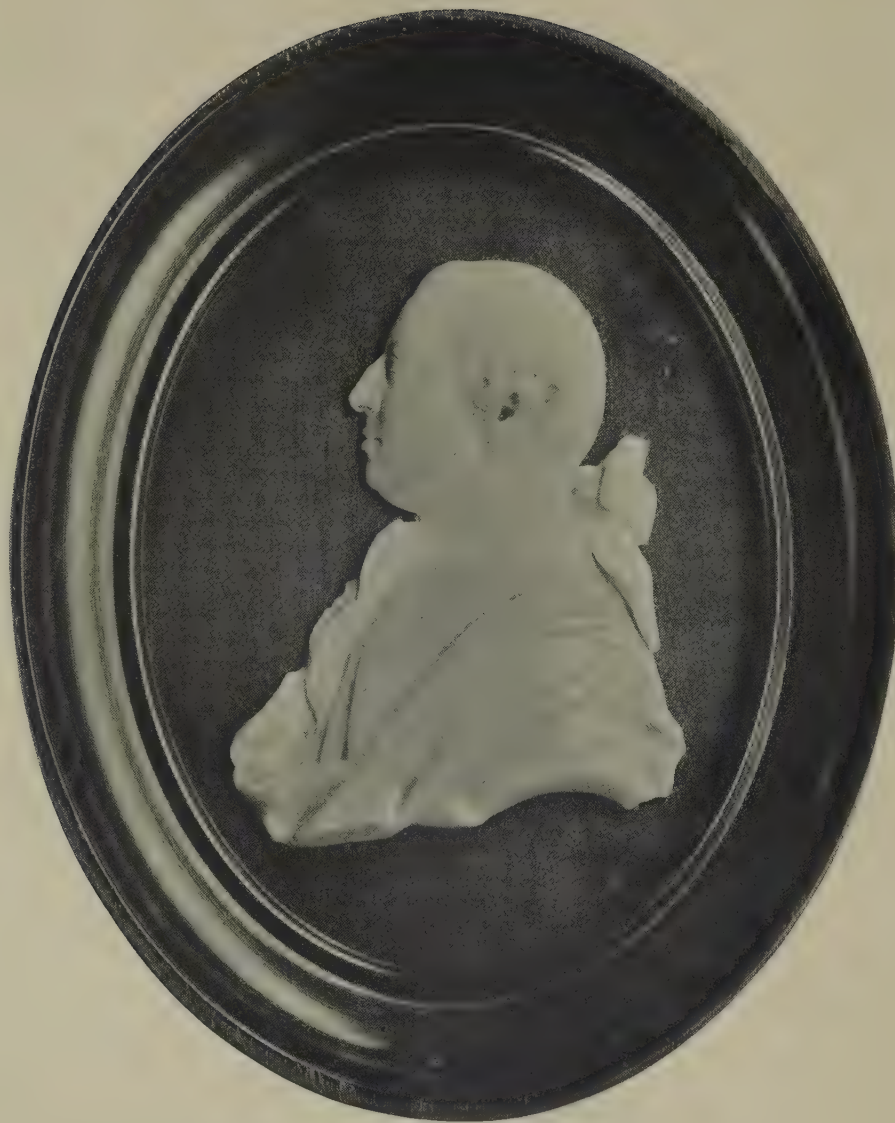
Commander-in-chief in America, 1780-1  
Governor-General of India, 1786-93 and 1805  
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1798-1801





Brome Hall in the County of Suffolk, one of the Seats  
of the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Charles Lord Cornwallis,  
Lord Lt. of the said County.





*Approximate facsimile from the wax medallion  
in the National Portrait Gallery*

THE HON. CHARLES TOWNSHEND

1725-67

Chancellor of the Exchequer

1766-7



## THOMAS PELHAM, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, PREMIER

Embassy at Madrid, was known as *Spanish* Charles to distinguish him from his Chancellor cousin. In 1797 he was created Baron Bayning. The sixth Townshend is Horatio (third son of the second Viscount Townshend), who was admitted as M.A. in 1749.

Following this brief *résumé* of the extent of these family connections, with Clare and amongst themselves, we may now select for fuller treatment the most prominent of these related *alumni*.

But first we should say something about Charles, 2nd Viscount, who was, though not himself at Clare, the father by his first wife of our first two Townshends, and grandfather of those notable first cousins, our Charles Townshend and Charles Cornwallis. He has been described as "the most masterful and successful member of his line, and, as Secretary of State, the 'senior partner' in the government with Walpole from 1721-1730<sup>1</sup>." His second wife was Walpole's sister Dorothy, his first wife being Elizabeth, sister of Thomas Pelham, another Premier. It is not surprising that the sons and grandsons of one who, himself almost a Premier, was so closely related to two other Premiers, should flourish politically.

The Hon. Thomas Pelham was admitted in 1709-10, in 1737 was elected High Steward of the University and in 1748 its Chancellor. By his father's death in 1712 he became Baron Pelham of Laughton and later was created Earl of Clare, Marquis of Clare, Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyme. First Lord of the Treasury in 1754-6, he formed a coalition with Pitt in 1757-62, and is the only Clare man who has attained the Premiership.

Newcastle was a prominent but not a great statesman. His rent-roll of £25,000 gave him enormous political influence, and the marriage of his brother-in-law, Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend, to Dorothy Walpole brought him into intimate relations with the Prime Minister. He was, however, timid and dilatory, a mixture of nervousness and pomposity. At Court he was nicknamed "Permis," because of his habit of prefacing his remarks to the Queen and Princesses with "*Est-il permis?*," and he became a butt of Lord Hervey's caustic wit. Yet he was according to the standards of the time an honest politician, and though an unwilling cause of witticisms, he could also make them. Thus when in 1762 he was forced to retire, and his adherents, particularly the Bishops, fell away from him, he dryly remarked, "even Fathers in God sometimes forget their Maker."

Though he consummated, rather than merely upheld, the system of Rotten Boroughs, Newcastle was scrupulous not to feather his personal nest from office. On the contrary, at his death in 1768 he was £300,000 the poorer for his political

<sup>1</sup> In two recent articles on Raynham (the famous Norfolk home, by Inigo Jones, of the Townshends) by H. Avray Tipping, *Country Life*, 14 and 21 Nov. 1925.

## HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE AND ITS ALUMNI

activities. He was not a brilliant statesman, but many of his actions have since been stamped by historians, or better still by events, as undoubtedly right. He abandoned Walpole's policy of non-intervention and was one of the most earnest advocates of the repeal of the Stamp Act. He furthered Pitt, too, though chiefly to revenge himself on the King, who had abused him roundly and who hated Pitt. Newcastle was a kind man, hospitable and genial: the fame of his Homeric banquets lived on into the present century. Inevitably, too, in an age when magnificence in patronage reached its climax in the field of architecture, Newcastle built—old Claremont House at Esher, for instance, "where nature," Garth tells us, "borrows dress from Vanbrook's art." Sir John Vanbrugh, whose bi-centenary of death has been this year<sup>1</sup> celebrated, and who was generally liked by his employers, numbered him amongst his steady friends. Whether our Newcastle ever lived in the famous house at the north-west corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields we have not been able to ascertain. This "Newcastle House"<sup>2</sup> was completed by Wren in 1694, and still stands, one of London's choicest gems of architecture.

If he displayed few of the qualities essential to a great minister of foreign affairs, if he intrigued and indulged his vanity, Newcastle was at least never a self-seeking place-hunter or mere intriguer. Though politician rather than statesman, his politics were in the grand rather than in the petty manner—perhaps the nearest word is grandiose.

The Hon. Charles Townshend, second son of the 3rd Viscount Townshend, was born in 1725 and admitted to Clare in 1742. It has been said—by Mr Avray Tipping—that "In the third Viscount, Nature had exerted herself less than was her custom in fashioning a Townshend." He is, however, memorable for having produced two celebrated sons, much of whose mercurial abilities proceeded from their mother, Audrey, daughter of Edward Harrison of Balls Park, which house she brought into her husband's family. She was one of the witty, profanely pious ladies who amused Horace Walpole, the recorder of several of her eccentricities.

Charles Townshend entered Parliament in 1747. In 1761 he became Secretary-at-War, and held the office of Paymaster-General through Grenville's and Rockingham's administrations, though himself describing the latter as "a lute string administration, fit only for summer wear."

For the rest, we may let Mr Avray Tipping once more compress the matter for us.

<sup>1</sup> 1926.

<sup>2</sup> The equally admirable "Newcastle House" in Lewes, Sussex, has recently (Spring of 1927) been threatened with demolition, and *Country Life* has intervened to save it with an illustrated description.

Our Duke was buried at Laughton, near Lewes, in front of the high altar of the parish church. It is probably owing to some attempted robbery that, while the mark of the tomb-place is still apparent, there is no trace of lettering.



## CHARLES TOWNSHEND, CHANCELLOR OF EXCHEQUER

In 1766 Pitt agreed to form a new Government, and made Townshend his Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a ministry that Burke retaliated by calling "such a tessellated pavement without cement, that it was a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch and unsure to stand on." Pitt almost immediately accepted his earldom, and then retired from the scene prostrated by gout—the one man who might have kept the "cabinet so variously inlaid" together. Horace Walpole's friends, Conway and Townshend, were thus left to lead the Commons. In 1767, Townshend's Budget proposal to continue the land tax was defeated, and he was faced with a deficit of half a million and the first defeat of a Minister on a money bill since 1688. Instead of resigning, he turned into practice his boast that he could raise a revenue in America, in spite of the timely repeal by Rockingham of the Stamp Act a few months before. Thus having "recklessly ripped open the half-healed wound of colonial taxation," humorous to the last, he proceeded to die, and left the headless and bodiless Government to face the consequence—which was the War of American Independence.

Townshend's brilliance impressed all his contemporaries. Burke calls him "the delight and ornament of this house and the charm of every private society which he honoured with his presence." Walpole, too, was dazzled by his brilliance—but not blinded. "He had almost every great talent," Walpole says, "and every little quality . . . with such a capacity he must have been the greatest man of his age and perhaps inferior to no man in any age, had his faults been only in a moderate proportion." Unfortunately nothing of Townshend was in such proportion. His defects were as striking as his gifts, which covered them, however, with a barrage that did not cease, till death, to flash. Brilliantly eloquent, flowing with high spirits and dexterous wit, there was something magnetic in a temperament so fascinatingly mercurial. The man who could keep the table in a roar till two o'clock in the morning put the country in an uproar that spread into two hemispheres.

The most loyally omniscient Clare men are not, it seems, aware how near the College came to providing the country, within a decade, with yet another Chancellor of the Exchequer—perhaps because the student career of Sir George Lee (1700–58) is thus perverted in the *Dictionary of National Biography*: "he was entered at Clare College, Cambridge, but migrated to Christ Church, Oxford, where he matriculated 4 April 1720, and took the degrees of B.C.L. 1724 and D.C.L. 1729."

George Lee was the fourth (according to Venn) son of Sir Thomas Lee, Bart., of Hartwell, Bucks. His elder brother, Sir William, chief justice of the King's Bench, had a son William who was admitted fellow commoner at Clare on 16 January 1743–4. George was himself admitted pensioner here on 21 March 1715–16, and he did not migrate to Oxford, therefore, till three years had elapsed. Elected M.P. for Brackley, Northants, in 1732–3, he subsequently represented west country seats—Devizes, Liskeard, and Launceston. As an adherent of Frederick, Prince of Wales, his narrow defeat in 1741 of the ministerial nominee for the chairmanship of the committee of privileges and elections presaged the fall of Walpole. A year later, when his patron, Carteret, lost his Secretaryship of State, Lee staunchly turned down

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the offers of opponents, and retired with him. He became, however, the most trusted adviser of the Prince of Wales, who

often toasted him in social life as the future Chancellor of England and leader of the House of Commons. Immediately on the prince's death, he joined the widow in burning all his private papers, and, in spite of the opposition of the Pelhams, was made treasurer of her household (1751)...dean of arches...a knight, 12 Feb., and a Privy Councillor, 13 Feb. 1752....When [however] the Duke of Newcastle proposed in 1757 to form an administration, with the exclusion of Pitt from office, Lee reluctantly agreed to be Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the duke, almost at once and without "the least notice" to those who had agreed to join him, abandoned his scheme<sup>1</sup>.

All too shortly and suddenly, however, Lee died, without issue, 18 December 1758. He was buried in the family vault beneath the east end of Hartwell church, and is commemorated by a portrait at Hartwell House, in the library of which many autograph notebooks are preserved.

His decisions gave general satisfaction. Two volumes of his judgements were edited by Dr Joseph Phillimore in 1833, etc. and an exposition of the nature and extent of the jurisdiction exercised by courts of law over ships and cargoes of neutral powers established within the territories of belligerent states, which was in answer to a memorial from the king of Prussia, is believed to have been written by him and Lord Mansfield, and has been generally accepted by jurists as authoritative<sup>2</sup>.

The Right Hon. Charles, Lord Viscount Brome (Earl and Marquis Cornwallis), was the son of the Hon. Charles Cornwallis, who had been admitted to Clare in 1717 and who was created first Earl Cornwallis and Viscount Brome in 1753. The son and second Earl was admitted to Clare on 31 December 1755. His connection with Clare is strangely omitted from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but is undoubted. Cornwallis cannot have been long in Cambridge, however, since he obtained a commission in the Army in 1756. Promotion followed very quickly, and soon he was recognised as the most capable general in the country. Although a Whig, he was not in disfavour with George III, and when offered the command against the American insurgents, did not refuse, although he had from the first opposed the measures which caused the insurrection. The campaign ended, as is well known, in the capitulation of Yorktown in 1781, but the factors predetermining this end are less well realised, and it is on these that any fair estimate of Cornwallis' ability depend. We may be pardoned, therefore, for quoting<sup>3</sup> at some length from Sir George Trevelyan's great history of the American Revolution.

Among the profound and complex feelings which the news excited one sentiment was prominent, spontaneous, and universal throughout the nation. Nobody blamed Lord Cornwallis, and everybody was sorry for him. The war in America had not been so rich in military reputations that England could afford to bear hard upon the most accomplished and chivalrous of all her generals. Seldom had the British infantry been taken into action in such artistic and dashing style, and seen through

<sup>1</sup> W. P. C. in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Vol. vi, pp. 385-6. By kind permission of Sir George Trevelyan and of his publishers, Messrs Longmans, Green, and Co.





4                      3                      1, 5                      2                      4

PELHAM, TOWNSHEND, AND CORNWALLIS PLATE  
WITH THE COMPLETE WORKS OF *MARGARET*, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE

1. Plain two-handled cup and cover, on a moulded foot.

Engraved with the arms of the donor, Thomas, Earl of Clare, 1714, and Duke of Newcastle, 1715.

Total height, 12½ in. Date, 1715-6. The cover is not marked.

2. Large two-handled cup and cover.

The body, the cover and the foot are covered with embossed scrolls, flowers, vines and shell work in the *rococo* manner, characteristic of the period. The plain scrolled handles have acanthus leaves on the top, as thumb pieces.

Engraved with the arms of the donor, Thomas Pelham (cousin of the above Duke of Newcastle), afterwards Earl of Chichester.

Total height, 12 in. Date, 1745-6. Maker, Eliza Godfrey.

3. Large two-handled cup and cover.

The body is divided by a plain moulding, the upper part being plain, while the lower part is decorated with ornate straps in two varieties, applied. These are repeated on the high cover.

Engraved with the arms of the donor, Charles Townshend, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Total height, 13 in. Date, 1750-1. Maker, Thomas Farrer.

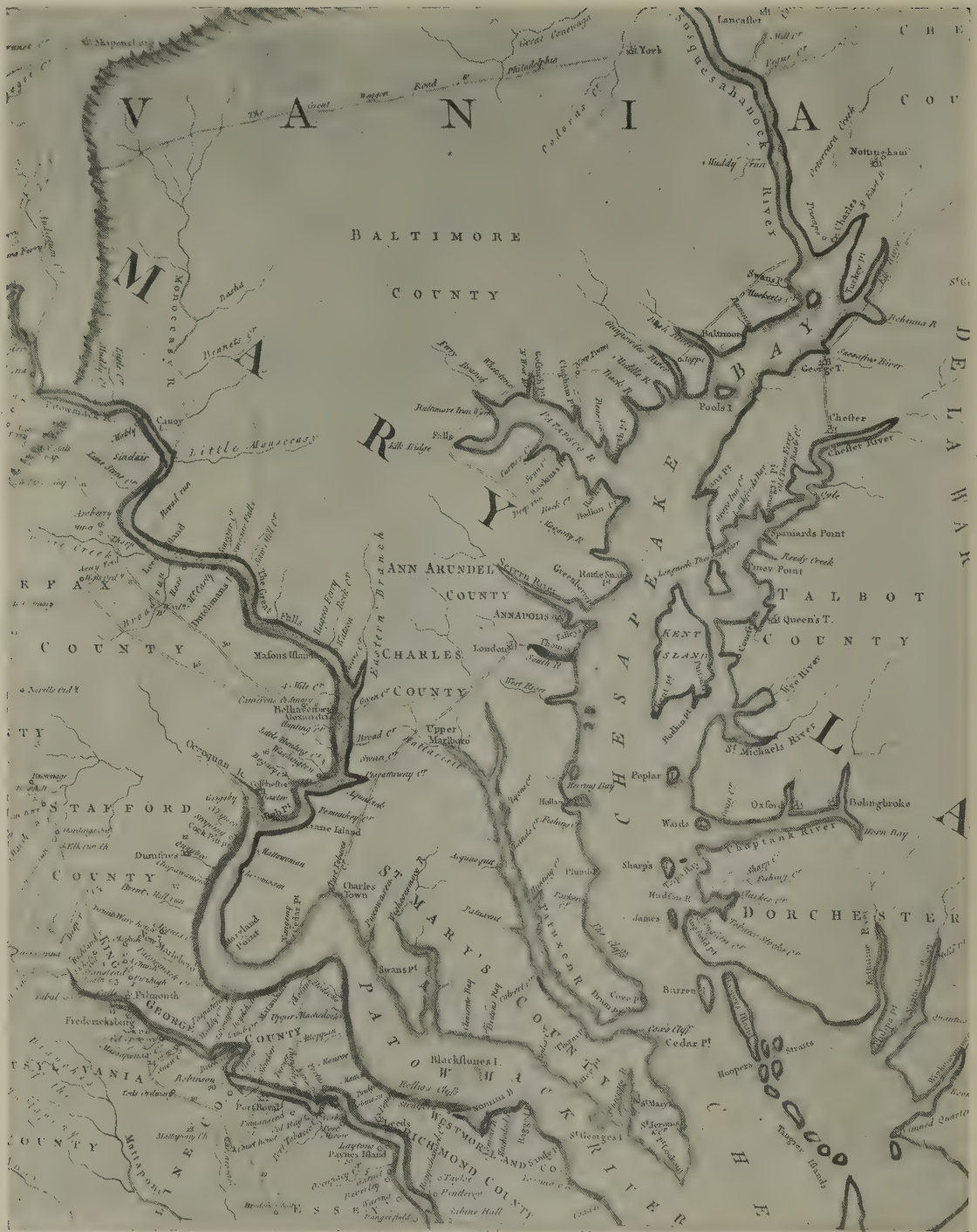
4. Pair of candlesticks, 11¾ inches high, with fluted tapering pillars, their shoulders set with three masks, from which depend festoons of laurel. The lower part, above the circular bases, is decorated with four large acanthus leaves and laurels, while the edges of the bases are gadrooned.

Engraved with the arms of the donor, John Thomas Townshend, afterwards second Viscount Sydney, 1784. Date, 1781-2. Maker, Ben. Laver.

5. Pair of candlesticks, 12 inches high, in the form of Corinthian columns, supported on fluted pedestals on curved octagonal bases with gadrooned edges.

Engraved with the arms of Viscount Brome, afterwards second Earl and first Marquis Cornwallis.

Date, 1754-5. Maker, David Willaume (mark entered 1728).



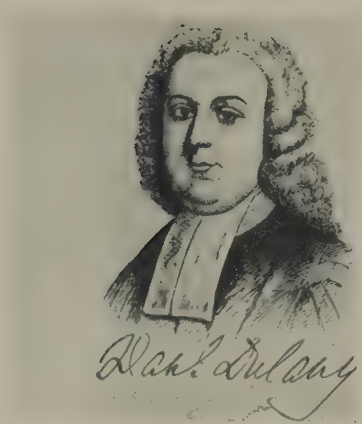
THE COUNTRY OF THE DULANYS AND OF THE CARROLLS

Elk Ridge is by the R of Maryland, and the ironworks, in which both families were interested, just above it

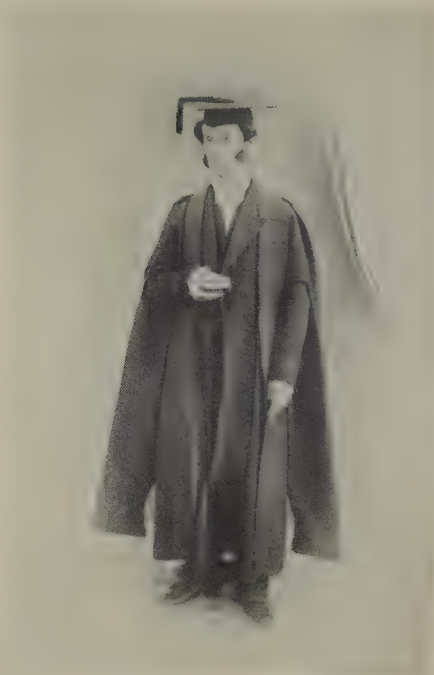




NEWCASTLE, CORNWALLIS  
and other Armorial Bearings  
in the College Hall



DANIEL DULANY 1722-97  
the younger, of Maryland,  
Constitutional protagonist for  
the American Colonies



EDWARD ATKINSON  
late *Mag. Coll.*  
as University Proctor, *circa* 1845

It is with great satisfaction that I now write to you -  
having met with assurances from my dear sister Mary  
in relation to produce to the best and to improve the  
good foundation which was laid at school and to begin  
again under your care at Cambridge in order to study  
Latin and to converse with your friends with the very  
Latinists before you are engaged in with some to him  
where you are better friends with only with the utmost re-  
spect to all with the most sincere friendship from his  
wife I have you that this will not be for a short time but  
as long as this sort of life can be agreeable to you and  
the satisfaction which they suppose they shall wish to  
your satisfaction it will not be for a short time to be more  
particular and to tell you that you yourself with all  
the accommodations in the family you can desire is the best  
we think to propose to you will not be in the matter  
to answer your own expectations as it is a wonderful  
satisfaction that my son is so desirous of the con-  
tinuance of your friendship and instructions so you  
in hopes it may prove an inducement to you to accept  
of this proposal. We hope by this time you may be able  
to dispatch your affairs at Cambridge before we have  
my son will be at school where accommodations shall be  
made for you if this be agreeable to you as it is much  
sincerely desired by P. I am most faithfully  
Believe me  
Your affectionate father  
Richard Laughton

Letter to Richard Laughton, Tutor of Clare, from  
the father of Thomas Pelham, later Earl of Clare  
and Duke of Newcastle, and Prime Minister

Although I am Inconvinced  
to discontinue with you I yet desire  
you will accept of this my work  
as my Father my Sister & my Mother  
= please to be with all Opinion and we  
Latter of your permission to present to -  
the University of the University  
for such benefit as my work may  
this Library. I shall very soon at -  
the Hall here, & if you think  
them every to be taken and placed  
them. I shall think my labour  
well of your reward, then my  
most obedient servant, has for me out of a  
respect I present them both to you  
& to your respect, as also my Father,  
from Richard Laughton

Letter from Margaret (Lucas), Duchess of Newcastle,  
presenting her complete works to the College Library



## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: CORNWALLIS & AMERICA

their work with such close attention to the varying aspects of the fray, as at Brandywine, and Camden, and Guildford Court House; and, whether correct or incorrect, there was a firm persuasion among Cornwallis's countrymen that, if he had been all along in chief command, and if Lord George Germaine had been forbidden to meddle, the issue of the struggle with our revolted Colonies might have been very different.

To be captured with his army has generally been accounted the ruin of a general's fame, and the end of his professional career. Such was the experience of Burgoyne at Saratoga, and of Mack at Ulm, and of Dupont at Baylen; but it was otherwise with Cornwallis. In the autumn of 1794, when the French Republic was proving itself too strong for its adversaries, the three ablest among our Ministers were united in their desire that the Marquis of Cornwallis should be placed in chief command of the British and Austrian armies in Flanders. That was the view of Pitt, and of Grenville, and notably of William Windham, who had a knowledge of war most unusual in an English statesman, and who was then living at the Duke of York's headquarters, in face of the enemy, in order to see with his own eyes where the responsibility for our disasters lay<sup>1</sup>. King George, unfortunately for the success of our arms, made the question into a matter personal to himself, and would not allow his son to be superseded: but both before and after that date whenever and wherever the highest qualities of the warrior and the ruler were demanded, Cornwallis was always sent to the front in preference to others. Nor did he ever fail to justify the confidence reposed in him. He made a fine record in India, in Ireland, and again in India where he died in harness; and yet—though public gratitude and public affection attended him from first to last—he seldom was more respected and loved than when in March 1782 he landed in England, a paroled prisoner, fresh from the disaster at Yorktown<sup>2</sup>.

This gives a much truer picture of Cornwallis than does Mr Philip Guedalla's "the very picture of a walking gentleman," etc., in his "Portrait of a Red-faced General" in *Independence Day*<sup>3</sup>. The journalisation of history is deplorable enough, but it becomes unbearable when rhetoric and facetiousness combine with real ability to achieve a rounded perverseness that is peculiarly specious.

That a man's work has been superseded does not necessarily mean that he did not build aright, and that he failed once does not mean that he was a failure. Much of Cornwallis' work in India<sup>4</sup> has, of course, been superseded by later legislation necessitated by different conditions, but its interest and importance can be seen in the two large volumes of his State Papers published recently by Sir George Forrest. So with the Union with Ireland, where Cornwallis supported Castlereagh. The impression left by a perusal of the Cornwallis Correspondence<sup>5</sup> is the impression that remains—that of a simple manly nature<sup>6</sup>, a clear-sighted statesman and able general

<sup>1</sup> On 19 September 1794 Windham, then Secretary-at-War in Pitt's Government, addressed a confidential letter to the Prime Minister from the British headquarters in the field. "It is a game," he wrote, "of great skill on either side. If I could, by wishing, set down the general of my choice, I should certainly choose, as the player of that game, my Lord Cornwallis. His authority would do more to correct the abuses of the army. His experience would conduct it better. Should an action be brought on, the army under him would infallibly act with a degree of confidence more, I am sorry to say, than it does under the Duke of York."

<sup>2</sup> *The American Revolution*, by Sir G. O. Trevelyan, vol. vi, p. 385 (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1921).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Harper's Magazine*, Dec. 1925, "Portrait of a Red-faced General," by Philip Guedalla.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Lord Cornwallis 1786-93: Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India*. Ed. by Sir George Forrest. 2 vols, with portrait. Pub. Basil Blackwell (1926).

<sup>5</sup> Edited by George Ross (3 vols. 1859). Dd. 8. 24-6 in the College Library.

<sup>6</sup> The portrait in Hall—a copy of the celebrated Guildhall portrait—is by Lance Speed, a Clare man and the illustrator of *Paulopostprandials*.

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(against the venial failure at Yorktown we must set his storming of Seringapatam), an upright English gentleman, and a Whig so fundamentally humane that we may almost hail him as a Radical.

The part Clare played, through the great Whig families, in the history of the eighteenth century and above all in the American War of Independence, has now been indicated. There remains the other side of the picture. We have already alluded to the practice of sending young colonials of the governing classes to England for general education and for professional, especially legal, training. That the reputation of Clare stood high in the eighteenth century may be presumed from the number of undergraduates entered about this time in the Admission Book as coming from the West Indies or from the American colonies. Amongst these, four names invite especial attention—William Allen (who will be taken later), Charles Carroll (entered at Clare, 20 January 1741-2), and Daniel Dulany and his half-brother Lloyd Dulany, who were admitted respectively on 22 January 1738-9 and 24 January 1760.

Charles Carroll, said to have been born in 1732, eldest son of Charles Carroll, Doctor of Medicine, of Annapolis, Maryland, was admitted pensioner at Clare Hall, Cambridge, on 20 January 1741-2, matriculating in 1742. These dates permit of his having been a contemporary, at Clare, of Charles Townshend, who was entered 23 July 1742. In after life Carroll was destined to be one of the most determined opponents of Townshend's illiberal and ill-starred colonial policy. He was admitted to the Middle Temple, 19 October 1751, and was called to the Bar, 22 November 1754.

Early in the political controversies which culminated in the Revolutionary war this distinguished lawyer was an active protagonist on behalf of his native country. It was he who proposed at a meeting at Annapolis that the tea brought there in October 1774, by the brigantine *Peggy Stewart*, should be publicly burned under the gallows.

Charles Carroll was a member of the Committee of Correspondence in December 1774, a delegate to Congress in 1775, member of the Maryland Convention and the Committee of Safety in the same year, and delegate from Anne Arundel county to the Maryland Convention, 7 December 1775. Early in 1776 Carroll was a member of the Baltimore Committee of Observation, and a member of the Maryland Convention on 8 May of the same year. He was a member of the Committee of the Convention in August 1776, elected to prepare a Declaration of Rights and Constitution for Maryland, together with Matthew Tilghman as President and William Paca, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, George Plater, Samuel Chase and Robert Goldsborough, some of Maryland's choice spirits, who by this act associated their names for all time with the revolutionary history of Maryland. Later in the same month, Carroll and two of his colleagues from Anne Arundel county resigned from



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this Convention on the ground that the instructions from their constituents would not permit them to accede to certain points in the plan of government. On 19 November 1776 he took his seat in the Continental Congress. To Charles Carroll is attributed the drafting of the Maryland Declaration of Rights. He was a member of the Maryland Senate, 7 November 1777, and in 1778 and 1779.

This long catalogue of the public services of Charles Carroll to Maryland does not end here; he was the senator selected to present the vote of thanks to General George Washington of Annapolis after his victory at Yorktown over Cornwallis.

Charles Carroll was a partner early in 1776 with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Daniel Dulany the younger (q.v.), and Robert Carter of Virginia, in the Baltimore Ironworks.

He died in 1783, leaving no children, and his property went to his nephews, the sons of his only sister—Nicholas and James Maccubbin.

As we have seen, Charles Carroll, barrister, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were associated in the drafting of the Maryland Declaration of Rights, and it is claimed on behalf of the latter that the “most unique feature of this ‘form of government’ was due to him<sup>1</sup>.” Though Charles Carroll, barrister, does not appear to have seen the Maryland Declaration through its several stages in committee and in the Convention, he does appear to have been mainly responsible for the draft, and Miss Rowland concedes that “in legal learning and in statesman-like accomplishments he was not surpassed by any of his associates<sup>2</sup>.” A still further, though minor, point of confusion is connected with the fate of the *Peggy Stewart*<sup>3</sup>. The public burning of her tea took place, undoubtedly, at Barrister Carroll’s instigation. But this was not enough, and the something more to prove repentance appears to have been due to the advice of Charles of Carrollton. This was the advice he gave to the *Peggy Stewart*’s proprietor, Anthony Stewart, to offer to burn his ship as well, as the price of his reinstatement in public favour. At this juncture a long quotation is justified because it brings yet another eminent Clare-connected colonial family upon the scene.

With his own hand, therefore, he (Stewart) fired the vessel, the fair Scotch Peggy, his daughter, for whom the ship was named, sitting on the piazza of her father’s house, according to tradition, and watching the work of destruction.

Not long afterwards, at an entertainment given by Lloyd Dulany, who had returned to Maryland and was living in Annapolis, the punch was brewed in a handsome silver bowl the guests had never seen before. Their host explained that it had been brought over in the *Peggy Stewart*, sent to him by

<sup>1</sup> This was the election of the Senate, of fifteen members, by a body of forty electors, “a device” differentiating the Senate of Maryland from all similar bodies on the continent, and calling forth much strong comment for and against. The scheme probably suggested to the framers of the Federal constitution the mode of constructing the United States Senate. Cf. pp. 191–2 of *The Life and Correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, by Kate Mason Rowland (G. P. Putnam’s Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1898). There is a good deal about “Barrister Carroll” in this book, which makes quite evident the great wealth and power of the Carrolls in Maryland.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 130–1.

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a friend in England....Charles Carroll of Carrollton was present among the company assembled, and smilingly responded to Dulany's account: "We accept your explanation, provided the bowl is used to draw always this same kind of tea." This historic bowl is still preserved, one of the relics of the "Ancient City" by the Severn.

Maryland, in the burning of the *Peggy Stewart* and her cargo, here made her own spirited and picturesque protest against the doctrine of taxation without representation....Mindful of the value of such an object-lesson to her children, Maryland holds in honour now, among her State holidays, the 19th of October, which has a place in her calendar as "Peggy Stewart's Day."

Daniel Dulany was the eldest son and heir of one Daniel Dulany, a native of Queen's county, Ireland, who emigrated in early life to Maryland, where, distinguishing himself as a lawyer, he rose to be Commissary-General of the colony, a member of the Council of State, and Recorder of Annapolis. The younger Daniel was born in Maryland, 28 June 1722, and was admitted, from Eton, a pensioner at Clare Hall, 22 January 1738-9.

From Clare he proceeded to the Middle Temple, but the precise date of his admission seems uncertain. According to Mr E. Alfred Jones, it was 16 March 1741-2, but from a letter of Dulany to his father on 22 January 1743 (Dulany papers) it would appear to have been then. Whether therefore he was, like Carroll, at Clare with Charles Townshend must be left at present undecided. He was called to the Bar, 13 June 1746.

Returning home after his general and legal education in England, Daniel Dulany was admitted to the Bar of Maryland in 1747. By his marriage on 16 September 1749 to Rebecca Tasker<sup>1</sup> he was allied to a family of great wealth and powerful influence. In 1751 he represented Frederick county in the Lower House of Assembly and was appointed a member of the Committee on Laws; he again represented Frederick county in 1752, 1753, and 1754. He followed his father in the offices of Commissary-General of Maryland (1759-61), member of the Proprietary Council (1757), and Secretary of the Province (1761).

Then came the notorious Stamp Act and Dulany's burst into fame in a notable pamphlet entitled *Considerations on the Propriety of Taxing America* [etc.]. This pamphlet, acknowledged to have been the most able defence of the rights of the colonists during the violent controversy which raged upon the introduction of the obnoxious Act, brought out Dulany's great abilities to the full. Republished in London in 1766, it is claimed to have been the foundation of Pitt's great speech in favour of repeal, when he is said to have held up a copy of the pamphlet in the course of his speech and eulogised it before the admiring House of Commons. In this treatise Dulany maintains with great force the contention that under the British Constitution the colonists were exempt from the Stamp Act, and from the obligation to pay internal taxes levied for revenue without their consent. The repeal of the

<sup>1</sup> Second daughter of the Hon. Benjamin Tasker, for 32 years a member of Council.



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Act (he says in a letter written shortly after that event to Lord Baltimore) had diffused the greatest joy throughout the American Continent, and in this same letter he says that the maxim "Divide et Impera" should never be forgotten by Great Britain in the government of her colonies. Commenting upon a report current in America that a design had been formed to review the charters of the northern colonies and to correct such as seem to confer too extensive privileges upon the people, and to establish a bishop in America, Daniel Dulany ends with the advice that if Great Britain should in earnest undertake these designs:

incedet (incedis) per ignes  
suppositos cineri doloso.

(Horace, *Odes* II, i, 8.)

For many years before the Revolution, this distinguished Middle Templar was regarded as an oracle of the law. Unrivalled in legal knowledge, he added to it grace of person, the accomplishments of a scholar and the power of the orator. The evidence of Charles Carroll, the father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, contained in a letter to his son, then in London, is worth quoting from a hostile witness. He describes him as "a man of great parts, indisputably the best lawyer on the Continent of America for general knowledge, a very entertaining companion when he pleases, but with the weakness that his veracity is questioned; vain and proud and designing, and so much of a politician as not to be over-scrupulous as to the means taken to secure his ends." This estimate was written in 1761, before the publication of the famous pamphlet.

In some, once equally famous, subsequent pamphleteering, Dulany does not show up so well. The Proprietary Council, of which he was secretary, set a reactionary face in matters of reform, and from champion of the liberties of the colonists he became the defender of prerogatives, which he maintained with characteristic power in his celebrated controversy, in *The Maryland Gazette* of 1773, with Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The subject was the payment of the tax by members of other Christian bodies for the support of the Church of England in Maryland, and the outcome of strong feelings was a bitter campaign of argument between Carroll and Dulany. Under the pseudonyms of "Antillon" for Dulany and "The First Citizen" for Carroll, Dulany had written in the *Gazette* a dialogue between a First and Second Citizen, in which the latter, standing for the *status quo*, had got the better of the former. Carroll, in replying as "First Citizen," maintained that fees were taxes, and that taxes should only be imposed on people by their representatives. The six months' struggle ended in July 1773, when it became evident that the "First Citizen," and with him the popular side, had won. The right of the people to tax themselves, the basis of Maryland's legislative liberties, had been at stake.

The explanation of Dulany's equivocal *volte-face* may be sought in the fact that

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his interests lay rather with prerogative than with reform, and that where his interests were concerned, his ability might be used against his better judgment. His part in this campaign of principles must undoubtedly have poisoned the inevitable antipathy to his loyalism during the military campaign so soon to follow. It is perhaps to that rather than to this that we must attribute the long obscuring of his fame in an injustice which Anglo-American *entente* has only recently, after the lapse of a century and a half, begun substantially to redress.

Naturally the early days of the Revolutionary War found this eminent man on the side of the Crown. Maryland, anyhow, did not at first desire complete secession, and even when her representatives at the Congress, finding themselves practically alone, had sought and received further instructions, many of the citizens were still unwilling to fall in with the views of the majority. According to his son, Daniel, Dulany was offered a place in the first Continental Congress, but, from a sense of loyalty to the Crown, refused it. However, the alleged offer he himself denied in the following extract from a letter to his son:

Baltimore Town, 3d. August 1784

I last night reced, my dear Son, your Letter by Mr. Thos. Ridout inclosing a Copy of the Memorial You presented on my Behalf—if You receive Compensation for the Loss You have sustained, I shall be satisfied—indeed the Memorial contains matters very improper to be set forth, and I desire it may be withdrawn—as to my having been applied to by a Committee from the Convention to accept of an Appointment to act as a Member of Congress, You have been misinformed—all that happen'd was, that two or three Members of the Convention, in their private Capacity, and not in Consequence of any Measure taken by the Convention, applied to me to know, whether I wou'd undertake to act as a Member of Congress, if appointed for the purpose by the Convention—that I have suffer'd much by being obliged to receive the depreciated money is very true, but this Loss was not peculiar to me, for other Creditors suffer'd in a similar manner, tho' warm Advocates for the Independence of America—it is true that I have been deprived of a lucrative Office, and burthen'd in the treble tax, but if justice is done to You, I readily relinquish all Claim on my own personal account....

After a brief withdrawal to England, Dulany returned to Maryland, but gave up his house at Annapolis and settled in his country seat of Hunting Ridge near Baltimore. Throughout the war he suffered many indignities from the more violent partisans of the revolution. At Baltimore he and his wife were grossly insulted by men calling themselves the Whig Club, who ordered them in July 1777 to leave the town forthwith and to depart the province within three days, at the peril of their lives. Even Hunting Ridge was, however, confiscated, with the rest of his property in 1781, the whole being sold for nearly £85,000. Such was the gratitude of the country whose cause, some fifteen years before, he had so powerfully advocated. Dulany nevertheless withdrew his claim on the British Government for compensation. With his wife and only daughter, Ann, he removed to Baltimore, where he resided till his death on 17 March 1797, discredited in his native state, where he



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had been hailed as the Pitt of Maryland and where the unquestioned supremacy of his talents was once the theme of every tongue, and the boast of every citizen.

MacMahon, as we shall see, in his *History of Maryland* claims Dulany as that colony's most distinguished son. Samuel Tyler, in his *Memoirs of Roger Brooke Taney*, says: "The opinions of Daniel Dulany had almost as much weight in court in Maryland, and hardly less with the court lawyers of England. . . . This was due, in some degree, to the fact that there were no reports of Maryland decisions until 1809. . . . The high reputation of this great lawyer stimulated the ambition of the Maryland Bar, while his opinions were models of legal discussion for their imitation."

After her husband's death, Mrs Dulany came over to England, where she lived at first with the elder of her two sons, also named Daniel, who died in London. There she was joined by her daughter, now Mrs De la Serre; subsequently they removed to Brighton, where Mrs Dulany died, in 1822, at the great age of 97.

The great part which Dulany played in the events leading up to the War of Independence is fully recognized in *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. II, chap. vi. American opinion may be gauged by two quotations—of 1831 and 1902 respectively. John V. L. MacMahon (himself an eminent lawyer), in his *Historical View of the Government of Maryland* (1831), says: "For many years before the downfall of the Proprietary Government, he was confessedly without a rival in this colony, as a lawyer, a scholar, and an orator. . . . Thus unrivalled in his professional learning . . . he added to it all the power of the orator, the accomplishment of the scholar, the graces of the person and the suavity of the gentleman"; and Woodrow Wilson, *History of the American People*, vol. III, p. 87 (1902), writing of Dulany's essay, sets him on a still higher pedestal: "A Maryland lawyer had turned from leading the bar of a province to set up the true theory of the constitution of an empire with the dignity, the moderation, the power, the incommunicable grace of a great thinker and genuine man of letters."

Five boxes of papers of Daniel Dulany, father and son, are in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, but have not yet been calendared. A letter dated 18 December 1768, regarding the sale of a negro slave, and "My Thoughts of the Present Contest between England and America," dated 1774, are in the Library of Congress.

Lloyd Dulany was the fourth son of Daniel Dulany, senior, by his third wife, Henrietta Maria Lloyd Chew, widow of the Hon. Samuel Chew and daughter of Philemon Lloyd of Talbot county. He was born 10 December 1742, and entered the Middle Temple 14 October 1761, having previously been admitted a pensioner, 24 January 1760, at Clare Hall, where his elder brother, Daniel, was educated and

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where his contemporary was Alexander Lawson, afterwards a Maryland lawyer and a loyalist.

As a loyalist, Lloyd Dulany drew up and signed the protest against the resolution, adopted at Annapolis, forbidding all American debtors to pay their debts to British merchants. Threatened with assassination by the more violent revolutionaries and tempted with flattering overtures by the more moderate radicals, he determined to remain true to his allegiance to the Crown of England, and in consequence sailed from Maryland in September 1775. He was one of the ten Maryland loyalists who signed the loyal address to George III in 1779.

Lloyd Dulany died in London from the results of a wound received in a duel, fought in Hyde Park, in June 1782. Aspersions on the loyalty of the Dulany family had been made in an article written by the Rev. Bennet Allen in *The Morning Post* of 29 June 1779. A former member of Wadham College, Oxford, and afterwards rector of All Saints' parish, Maryland, Allen was also a loyalist exile in England. The article alleged that while one part of the family remained in America to secure their vast property from confiscation by the American States, others sought refuge in England under the guise of loyalist sufferers, in the hope, by such double dealing, to save the property, whichever side emerged victorious from the war. Stung by this aspersion, Lloyd Dulany challenged Allen to the duel in which he met his death. He had participated in two previous duels, according to the Rev. Bennet Allen, amongst whose petitions there is a long account of the circumstances of this fight<sup>1</sup>. So far as we know, his is the unique misfortune of having been the only Clare man to lose his life in duelling.

In granting Lloyd Dulany a loyalist pension of £200 a year, the Commissioners appointed to examine Loyalists' Claims in London quaintly said of him that he was "a man of immense fortune and would do honour to any country"—a tribute no doubt intended to dispose of Allen's malignant attack. At all events, it is significant that this American Middle Templar, "the bosom friend" of George Washington, was put forward by Sir John Dalrymple in 1778 as a suitable agent for the British Government in a somewhat difficult task—namely, that of inducing the American Commander-in-Chief to play for George III the part performed by Monck for Charles II, and actually to offer him a dukedom.

That the College—in successive centuries, the seventeenth and eighteenth respectively—has had peculiarly close relationships with Virginia (cf. Chapter IX) and with Maryland, we hope we have shown beyond dispute. In the nineteenth century, an uneventful stretch in our annals, and one marked, too, by a certain

<sup>1</sup> H.O. Dom., 42/1.



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smouldering 'feeling' between England and America, this connection lapsed. It has been revived, however, in this twentieth century, in a most alluring manner, by the romantic expedition of Cecil Sharp (mentioned later, in Chapter V) to the Appalachian mountains that form the western borders of those two states—there to discover to the world at large a folk-culture preserved in a *duresse* of straitened and secluded circumstance very much as it had been laid down, so to speak, in the third and subsequent decades of the seventeenth century. It is amusing, incidentally, to reflect that this Appalachian culture should perhaps take precedence in "Englishry" over any even of the least cosmopolitanised, most conservatively pristine district-cultures of the old country itself.

In this Anglo-American connection, however, Cecil Sharp is not alone. To the author of our section on the College Plate, a recent fellow commoner (1912-14) of Clare, Mr E. Alfred Jones, the up-to-date sustaining of the tradition owes not a little. It is due to him that we have "realised" Dulany and Carroll just in time to include them in this book, our accounts of these great Maryland personages being based on Jones' *American Members of the Inns of Court*, a book which was commended to the public by no less a preface-writer than President Taft. Mr Jones has also added to his several monumental works (on the gold and silver plate in British and European royal and other collections), *The Old Silver of the American Churches*. But perhaps his most important contributions to Anglo-Americanism have been made on the subject of American Loyalism, viz. *The Journal of Alexander Chesney* (*American Loyalist*); *The Loyalists of New Jersey*; and, most recently compiled, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts*.

These last two works bring us from Virginia, an Anglican colony of an admirably catholic spirit, and from Maryland, largely a Roman Catholic colony (Dulany being a Roman Catholic, and a Carroll the first Roman Catholic Archbishop of the U.S.A.), to New England and the Puritans, and especially to the Quaker infusion into new-world Puritanism that took place in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. In all three contexts it is with big names, and in addition through important twentieth-century activities of recent or still living Clare men, that we find ourselves in touch—and concerned, most importantly, with crucial initiative on behalf of education, above all in old Virginia (Nicholas Ferrar, cf. Ch. IX) and in contemporary New England, as we shall see when we come, shortly, to record the work of Rendel Harris.

Though there is much, however, to say about Clare-bred English forerunners, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of Anglo-American Puritanism; and much too might well be brought, did space permit, to bear upon the purified energies and consummating spirit of their leading twentieth-century follower; it is, more

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immediately, with the eighteenth century that we have just been chiefly concerned, and with the New England state of Pennsylvania in that century that we may best open this section (rather religiously than secularly separatist) of our survey

William Allen, second son of William Allen, a prosperous merchant of Philadelphia, was born 5 August 1704. Admitted to the Middle Temple 24 August 1720, he entered Clare Hall as a pensioner 9 September following, and spent six years in England. He became Mayor of Philadelphia in 1735 and Grand Master of Pennsylvania Freemasons in 1743, and was for many years a member of the Assembly. Succeeding his father-in-law, Andrew Hamilton, the celebrated lawyer, as Recorder of Philadelphia in 1741, Allen was raised to the bench as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the province 2 October 1750, and held that office until his resignation in 1774, when he sailed for England, there to publish in the same year his views in *The American Crisis*.

This eminent Philadelphian was distinguished for his love of literature and the arts, and was an original trustee of the College of Philadelphia, where three of his sons were educated. Possessed of great influence and wealth, he was the early friend and patron both of Benjamin West and of Benjamin Franklin. With Franklin, however, he had disagreements later, and wrote of him in 1763, "... he has cost me more trouble since he came to reside in our State than all mankind besides; and I can assure that he is a man so turbulent, and such a plotter, as to be able to embroil the three kingdoms, if he ever has an opportunity."

The former Chief Justice of Pennsylvania died in London, 6 September 1780, one of the exiled American loyalists who, while they opposed encroachments by the Government in London on the liberties of the American colonists, yet believed in redressing grievances by constitutional means.

John Penn (1760–1834), grandson of William<sup>1</sup>, the famous founder of Pennsylvania, was born in London, the eldest son of Thomas Penn and Juliana, daughter of Thomas Fermor, first Earl of Pomfret. On the death of his father in the critical year 1775 he succeeded to the moiety of the proprietorship of Pennsylvania, and to Stoke Poges Park in Bucks, and on the outbreak of the War of Independence came, *via* Geneva, to be entered (as a nobleman) at Clare Hall. M.A. in 1779, he returned to America in 1782, and in 1786 received with his cousin a grant of £15,000 per annum in return for the Penn estates, thereupon vested in the commonwealth. In 1789 the English Parliament also granted him an annuity in respect of his Pennsylvania losses, thereby enabling him, no doubt, to proceed with the

<sup>1</sup> The great William Penn had been sent to Magdalene, Pepys' college, on the latter's express advice; cf. Pepys' *Diary*, 25 Jan. 1661–2: "Sir W. Pen come to me, and did break a business to me about removing his son from Oxford to Cambridge, to some private College. I proposed Magdalene," etc.



## RENDEL HARRIS AND NEW ENGLAND

great new building at Stoke Poges. With but little if any of the magnificent philanthropy of his grandfather, Penn's selflessness does not appear to have found vent in anything more important than the organisation, in 1817, of a "matrimonial society," devoted to "the improvement in the domestic life of married persons." Extending its aim to other schemes of domestic utility, the society became known, with Penn as President, as the Outinian Society<sup>1</sup>. Penn's architectural and dramatic works we notice subsequently. In 1794 his Poems (anon.) were printed at the private press at Stoke Poges Park.

Some fifteen years ago his portrait came upon the auction market, but the College, though bidding, were unable to secure it.

If John Penn built, it was not in William's spirit of constructive altruism. It is far otherwise with Rendel Harris, of whom, however, we may not here, unhappily, treat in set biography, for the happy reason that he is still very much alive. It was (1881-5) at Johns Hopkins University, at Baltimore in Maryland, and later (1885-92) as Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature at Haverford College, that Rendel Harris launched and got under way the researches into Biblical criticism and patristic literature which have made him famous; and it is in connection with the momentous first settlement in New England in 1620 that he has, since the war, come into wider public prominence through the active double part he played, seven years ago, in the *Mayflower* tercentenary celebrations; whether as prime mover in the scheme for an Anglo-American university in the citadel at Plymouth, whence the *Mayflower* sailed in September 1620, or as the ingenious discoverer, probably, of her ship's timbers made up into the now famous barn at the Friends' memorial centre at Jordans in Buckinghamshire. If we are correct in surmising (and at present it is not much more than that) that Nicholas Ferrar was a principal originator—almost exactly three hundred years earlier, and almost synchronously with the *Mayflower* voyage—of the idea of a university college in Virginia, then the earliest and latest projects for Anglo-American university colleges must be attributed largely to two Clare men: one of them, Ferrar, described by so philosophic an authority as Dean Inge as being, with Herbert, "the true founder of the Church of England"; the other not only one of the leading figures of to-day in Free Church circles, but amongst the most notable in the remarkable list of separatists from Anglicanism and as between Church and State that the College has, in the course of close on four centuries, produced.

Earlier in this chapter we have recounted the part played by Latimer and Heath in the crucially formative days of the Anglican church, while in the seventeenth

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *D.N.B.*

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century the lesser lights of Henchman and Gunning must not be overlooked in the ampler luminescence spreading on either side of them from Ferrar's philosophic catholicity and Tillotson's kindly talent for conciliation. But if we have exceptional formative relations with the Anglican Church, our relations with separatist tendencies from that Church are equally noteworthy. Holcroft and Whiston we have already dealt with; two earlier Puritan forerunners of great importance may here now best be mentioned.

Henry Barrow or Barrowe was born about 1550 at Shipdham in Norfolk, the son of Thomas Barrow and Mary, daughter and a co-heiress of Henry Bures, Esq., of Acton, Suffolk. His family was related by marriage to the Lord Keeper Bacon, and, probably, to that of Aylmer, Bishop of London. He matriculated fellow commoner of Clare Hall 22 November 1566, and proceeded B.A. 1569-70. Passing thence to the study of law, he fell, like George Herbert, into the *empressements* of worldliness, "followed the court," and lived a life of mingled frivolity and licentiousness. John Cotton, of New England, hands down the report that "Mr Barrow, while he lived in court, was wont to be a great gamester and dicer, and after getting much by play would boast *vivo de die in spem noctis*," etc. About 1580, however, while strolling on a Sabbath with a vicious companion, he happened to pass a church in which the minister was preaching very loudly. On a moment's whim Barrow entered, and, disregarding his companion's sneers, continued to listen. The outcome was a reversal of life as abrupt and complete as any in the records of catastrophic conversion. "He made a leap," said Francis Bacon, "from a vain and libertine youth to a preciseness in the highest degree, the strangeness of which alteration made him very much spoken of." Wisely, forthwith, he left London for the country, forsaking the study of law for that of the Bible and of theology, and soon became a close intimate of John Greenwood, who had been influenced by the writings of Robert Browne, founder of the Brownists, to take the lead in Separatism—Barrow being associated in London with the "brethren of the separation," "in whose secret meetings his natural earnestness and eloquence made him conspicuous<sup>1</sup>."

The friendship between Greenwood and Barrow, after the latter's conversion, resembles that between Berridge and John Wesley, but its outcome was as tragic as theirs was felicitous, for it led to a judicial murder, the long-drawn deliberateness of which has bitten an indelible disgrace in the good fame of English justice and, even more execrably, in that of the Episcopate. Greenwood had been arrested in November 1586, and Barrow went, as Ferrar later went to Bishop Williams, to condole with him in prison in the Clink. But Whitgift, the primate, had issued orders that Barrow too "should be apprehended whenever and wherever hands

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.



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could be laid on him." He was thrust into a boat and taken the same afternoon to Lambeth. "Here arraigned . . . he protested against the illegality of his arrest without a warrant," but quite unavailingly. "The Lambeth dignitaries tried to entrap him into a crimination of himself under oath," but they could neither effect this nor exact from him the promise "to frequent the parish churches." A week later Barrow was again arraigned at Lambeth, but this time before "a goodlie synode of bishops, deanes, civilians etc., beside such an appearance of wel-fedde priestes as might wel have beseemed the Vaticane" (*Examinations*, 7).

A long sheet of accusations of opinions judged erroneous was presented against him. He at once acknowledged that "much of the matter of this bil is true, but the forme is false," yet refused to take any oath, requiring rather that witnesses against him should be sworn. This perfectly legal requirement was denied him, and Whitgift losing his temper, broke out, "Where's his keeper? You shal not prattle here. Away with him! Clap him up close, close! Let no man come at him; I will make him tal an other tale yet. I have not done with him" (*Examinations*, 8).

Barrow was now hurried with Greenwood to the Fleet, and for six and a half years, the remainder of his life, was there imprisoned, never leaving it except to suffer further examinations, during all of which he "vigorously maintained the principle of separatism, denouncing the prescribed ritual of the Church as a 'false worship' and the bishops as oppressors and persecutors<sup>1</sup>." In the four years following, moreover, he wrote undauntedly, either alone or with Greenwood and John Penry, "several vigorous treatises in defence of separatism and congregational independency," having these smuggled out piecemeal to be printed at Dort in Holland. One of them is quaintly named *Mr H. Barrowe's Platform. Which may serve as a Preparative to purge away Prelatisme with some other parts of Poperie. Made ready to be sent from Miles Mickle-bound to Much-beloved England*.

Against such a front the bishops were driven to further measures, and in 1590 made a homœopathic attempt to secure submission through the mediations of conforming Puritan ministers. These, too, were doomed to failure, and at length it was resolved to prosecute the "indomitable controversialists" on a capital charge of "devising and circulating seditious books, for which, as the law then stood, it was easy to secure a conviction<sup>1</sup>." Though both prisoners stoutly maintained their freedom from any whatsoever "malicious intent," they were sentenced to death on 23 March 1593. What followed calls to mind the ordeal of Dostoeffsky, but "is happily unique in the history of English misrule. The day after sentence they were brought out as if for execution and respited<sup>1</sup>." On the 31st of March they were taken in a cart to Tyburn and, after the ropes had been placed about their necks and they had spoken "modestly but bravely," were again respited. This appalling terrorism may have been due to eleventh-hour attempts on the part of Lord

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

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Treasurer Burghley to obtain conclusive reprieve, but Whitgift and other bishops frustrated the intention. Finally the prisoners were hanged at Tyburn, early on the morning of the 6th of April.

“Modern ‘congregationalists’ or ‘independents’,” epitomises A. B. Grosart in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, “have put in an exclusive claim to Barrow as one of the main founders of congregationalism. Dr Dexter, in his great work, on *Congregationalism of the last two hundred years*, has argued for this with acuteness and fervour. In our judgement, whilst separatist ‘meeting houses’ of ‘believers’ grew out of Barrow’s teachings and example, he himself had no idea corresponding with modern congregationalism. It is even doubtful if, *ceteris paribus*, he objected to a national church, if only the ‘supreme authority’ of Jesus Christ and of Holy Scripture was unconditionally admitted. Barrow was not a mere ‘sectary.’ He protested against being called by that name.”

Barrow, however, had attacked Browne, on account of his partial accommodation with the Church, as a renegade, and Grosart’s conclusion is at variance with that of the life in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, namely that:

The opinions of Browne and Barrowe had much in common, but were not identical. Both maintained the right and duty of the Church to carry out necessary reforms without awaiting the permission of the civil power; and both advocated congregational independency. But the ideal of Browne was a spiritual democracy, towards which separation was only a means. Barrowe, on the other hand, regarded the whole established church order as polluted by the relics of Roman Catholicism, and insisted on separation as essential to pure worship and discipline.

Both biographers are agreed that Arber was right in refuting Dexter’s contention that Barrow and not John Penry wrote the chief tracts published under the famous pseudonym of “Martin Marprelate.”

Nothing, in our opinion, can be said in extenuation of Whitgift’s cruelty to Barrow, but there was probably something, sometimes, to be said for ejection rather than elimination of opponents. We may here interpolate some account of Richard Love, whose name is associated with a drastic occasion in which Cudworth, later Master of Clare, participated, and which was recorded by James Baxter in 1633. Love was a native of Cambridge, the son of an apothecary, born in 1596 and bred at the free school, which stood on the present site of the Cavendish laboratory, and of which Free School Lane is a reminder. He was one of the Fellows who elected Paske to the mastership of Clare in 1620, a fact which argues some intellectual precocity. Later Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Charles I, he was himself elected in 1632 Master of Corpus Christi College, owing to the King’s personal intervention with an autograph letter on his behalf. From 1649 to 1661, the year of his death, Love was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, becoming also Dean of Ely after resigning his mastership in 1660. He is buried in the chapel of his second college, to which his son-in-law, Archbishop Tenison, presented the portrait of which a good copy hangs in our College Hall.



## SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THOMAS CARTWRIGHT

Love's most notable deed, in his capacity of Vice-Chancellor, we will get Baxter to describe:

The aforegoing Sunday I minded me to attend the Universitie sermon in Great St Mary's church, yet the matter had almost pass't from my mind, when Ralph Cudworth encounter'd me in Milne street. The latter reminded me of one Peter Hausted, an outrageous heretick, the which wold preach that day, & whom he purposed to hear. I accompanied him thither, & we sat aloft in the gallerie. The heads of sundry hostels preceding him, Peter Hausted entered in, a tall sombre man of threadbare appearance. He mounted to the pulpit, & here followeth the summary of his discourse, Behold, the Lord hath done a wonderous work among this people; even a marvellous work & a wonder, for the wisdom of their wise hath perish'd, & the understanding of their prudent men been hid. This seat of learning is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers; her labour is in vain, because he hath deprived her of wisdom, neither hath he imparted to her understanding.

Now when he had spoken divers other things against alma mater, all hearers being anger'd, the vice-chancellor, Richard Love, formerly at Clare Hall, gave a privy mandate to the proctoures & dogges to arrest him in the pulpit, in the performance of which dutie they presently proceeded. With the loud approval of us present, Peter Hausted was took out from the pulpit, & led forth.

An even more disturbing and able, though less sturdy and admirable, Puritan than Barrow was Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603), who was indeed described by Strype in his *Annals* as "the head and most learned of that sect of dissenters then called Puritans." Cartwright came to Clare, very young, from somewhere in Hertfordshire, matriculating in November 1547, but he migrated in 1550 as a scholar to St John's, at which college, ten years later, he was elected to a Lady Margaret Fellowship. This was probably through the discernment of his outstanding dialectical abilities by James Pilkington, the Master of St John's, who was devoting himself, upon the cessation of the Marian *régime*, to making his college the centre of the Puritan movement, which grew thence to distinguish for nearly a century the University at large, and Emmanuel College in particular. Cartwright, however, had already removed for a brief interval to Trinity, and in 1562 was elected back there as a Major Fellow, and raised with great celerity to membership of the governing body. Clearly such migratory *mobile* bespeaks him a marked man—he was regarded, in fact, as a champion, and selected in that sort of capacity to take part in a theological disputation before Queen Elizabeth at Cambridge in 1564. One rather dubious account asserts that it was through the marked partiality then evinced by Elizabeth for his opponent that he came eventually "to kick against her ecclesiastical government." In Cambridge, at any rate, his prestige carried such weight in those distracting times that when, for instance, the Scholars and Fellows first of St John's and then of Trinity turned up, in 1565, in their college chapels without their surplices, this then catastrophic demonstration was due to three sermons which Cartwright had delivered in his college chapel. "Hitherto," writes Bass-Mullinger in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "the puritanical tendency had been restricted to such matters as the use of vestments, etc., but under Cartwright's

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influence questions now began to be raised which affected the whole church organisation." No wonder that, *à propos* the installing in 1739 of galleries in Great St Mary's church, Mr Downs can write<sup>1</sup>: "before that time the large floor-space had sometimes proved insufficient, and when Thomas Cartwright, the great Puritan divine of Elizabeth's reign, held forth, a window used to be taken out, so that the overflow meeting outside might also profit by the edification of his word."

No doubt the intensity of the feelings roused dictated, now, a retirement for two years to Ireland, where Loftus, Archbishop of Armagh, whose chaplain he was, attempted unsuccessfully to obtain the reversion of his primateship for Cartwright. In 1569, however, he was appointed Lady Margaret Professor, and embarked, both from that chair and from the pulpit, on a determined campaign against the whole ethos of the Church of England, which he contrasted with that of primitive Christianity. Whitgift he easily outwitted, but more substantial, moderate forces were drawn in against him (Grindal, for instance, the Archbishop of York), and remonstrances directed to Cecil, then Chancellor of the University, provoked, in 1570, a set and critical conflict, his opponents demanding summary suppression, his adherents amidst other assistance plying Cecil with a testimonial in which Cartwright figures as "a pattern of piety and uprightness, and although, as a Greek, Latin or Hebrew scholar not without his equals in the University, in the combined knowledge of the three languages without a rival<sup>2</sup>." At this juncture, the new University statutes, unluckily for Cartwright, came into force, and Whitgift into the Vice-Chancellorship. The reformer was promptly stripped of his Professorship, and, Whitgift next becoming Master of Trinity, of his Fellowship also, in 1571.

Self-exile was the obvious if not the only course. Betaking himself to Geneva, Cartwright there met Beza, who had succeeded Calvin as head of that university, and who pronounced Cartwright to be the equal of any living scholar.

In 1572 the famous *Admonition to the Parliament*, the work of Field and Wilcox, two London clergymen—

declared open warfare against all dignities, whether in the church or the universities, and together with the literature to which it gave rise, is generally considered to mark the point of departure of the puritan movement, its main aim being to induce the legislature to assimilate the English church organisation to the presbyterian standard. The authors were both committed to prison; but their views and mode of enforcing them so closely coincided with Cartwright's, that he did not scruple to... visit them in prison, and to support their arguments by writing *A Second Admonition*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

"M. Doctor Whitgifte" was quick, once more, in retort, and the ensuing controversy,

in itself sufficiently memorable, is rendered still more noteworthy by the fact that it was the proximate cause of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Past and Present*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*.



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A warrant having been issued for Cartwright's arrest, he again fled the kingdom in 1573, and for twelve years officiated as minister in Heidelberg, Middelburg, Antwerp, etc. In 1577 he espoused the sister of John Stubbe, a fellow-collegian who was convicted of "seditious writing" in 1579. All this time he was producing important works. He was offered the chair of theology at St Andrews in 1584, but was petitioning Elizabeth, through the Earl of Leicester, for permission to return, in the interests of his health, to England. His premature return in 1585, despite the Queen's refusal, was made the occasion by Aylmer, Bishop of London, for clapping Cartwright within the Fleet, but Elizabeth prudently released him, and he was taken under Leicester's wing and settled at Warwick. From now Cartwright's attitude appears to have been mitigated, but, though he deplored the Marprelate writings, he came under suspicion of taking part in secret conclaves of Puritan ministers at Cambridge, and, though again "he appears to have treated Barrow and Greenwood with contemptuous indifference and in 1590 saw fit to sever himself distinctly from the Brownists<sup>1</sup>," his implacable enemy, Whitgift, once more sent him to the Fleet. There he met, amongst other leading Puritans, Udal, sometime owner of a book in the College Library which bears his autograph inscription "*ex dono Nicholai Udalli.*" His release, however, was obtained in 1592, through the influence of King James and of Burghley. He ended his life in Warwick, where, Harington declares, he "grew rich and had great maintenance to live upon, and was honoured as a patriarch by many of that profession."

It has been alleged that "Cartwright's last words were expressive of contrition at the unnecessary trouble he had caused the church and of a wish that he could begin life again so as to 'testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways<sup>1</sup>'"; and there seems some ground for crediting the even less likely possibility that he lapsed towards the end into terms of amity with Whitgift himself. We may, once more, epitomise from *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*:

Cartwright was a man of much culture and originality, but exceedingly impulsive. His views were distinctly Presbyterian, and he stoutly opposed the Brownists or Independents. He never conceived of a separation between church and state, and would probably have refused to tolerate any non-conformity with his reformed national Presbyterian church. To him, however, the Puritanism of his day owed its systematisation and much of its force.

Not one of his works is in the College Library, and only one—*A Brieve Discoverie of the false church*, 1590—by Barrow. This work, of 263 closely printed quarto pages, is bound up, in a volume (Aa. 4. 23) containing five items, next to *The Historie of Corah, Dathan and Abiram, etc. applied to the Prelacy [etc.] of England by Mr John Penry, a Martyr of Jesus Christ* (1609).

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography.*

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Ere our final return to America, a third Clare Hall Presbyterian Puritan must obtain brief mention. David Clarkson (1622–86) was born at Bradford, Yorks, educated at Clare Hall, and admitted a Fellow by warrant from the Earl of Manchester on 5 May 1665. It was to study under Clarkson that Tillotson was sent to Clare by his father, who had calvinistic inclinations. Ejected under the Uniformity Act after the Restoration, Clarkson wandered, as Oley before him had done, until in 1682 he became co-pastor with John Owen of an independent church in London. He married a daughter of Sir Henry Holcroft.

Clarkson, a sound and erudite controversialist, was admired, especially, by Baxter. Amongst other works he countered Stillingfleet in 1681 with *No Evidence for Diocesan Churches or any Bishops without the Choice or consent of the People in Primitive Times*, and *Primitive Episcopacy*, etc. 1688. His *Sermons and Discourses on several Divine Subjects*, 1696, contains a portrait, and “is one of the folios sometimes found in old dissenting chapels, originally attached by a chain to a reading-desk, e.g. at Lydgate, Hinckley, Coventry<sup>1</sup>.”

In a following chapter we have drawn attention to Nicholas Ferrar’s significant obstinacy when he insisted that George Herbert’s *Temple* should not be printed without the famous animadversion:

Religion stood on tiptoe in our land  
Ready to pass to the American strand.

Ferrar was hankering, no doubt, after the ideally catholic spirit of the Anglican reformed solution, and no doubt also, more poignantly, if Copeland’s testimony was truly conveyed, after his own growing apprehension that effectual loyalty to his ideals was whispering him across the Atlantic. That he did not give himself his marching orders adds one more great might-have-been to history. But others of a less orthodox persuasion were under more crude constraint to make the passage, and it is now time for us, after standing, so to speak, on Atlantic tip-toe with Barrow and Cartwright, their predecessors<sup>2</sup>, to pass to New England with the *Mayflower* Pilgrims—though our indubitable connections with colonial New England relate us rather to an even earlier, pre-separatist enterprise, and to a later one of finer catholic spirit, that of the Quakers. If for each of these three stages of settlement one person’s name alone should come naturally to stand, a universal voice would select, we suppose, as “the big three” of colonial New England, Sir Ferdinando

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> The intellectual influence of Cartwright on the resolution of the Pilgrim Fathers may be gauged by the attention given by them to his works when, while waiting in indecisive exile at Leyden, they set up the printing press of which the site has been “proved” and the products so carefully described by Rendel Harris, in his *The Pilgrim Press*, 1922.



## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: NEW ENGLAND

Gorges, "the father of English colonisation in America" (1566?-1647); Governor William Bradford (1590-1657), the separatist ruler of Plymouth colony, five years excepted, from 1621 until his death; and William Penn, the Quaker coloniser in 1676 and 1680 respectively of West and East New Jersey, and finally the creator in 1680-2 of the great province of Pennsylvania, west of the river Delaware. With the name of Bradford, however, that of William Brewster (c. 1566-1644, at Peterhouse in 1580) should probably be coupled, especially as this enables us to note that it was from the Virginia Company that, near the outset of the Ferrar secretariat, Brewster obtained in London, in 1619, a land patent on behalf of the *Mayflower* associates.

With the names and territories of Penn and of Gorges (who received in 1639 a charter constituting him lord proprietary of the province of Maine), Clare Hall was connected through John Penn, as we have seen, and through Francis and Richard Gorges, who were admitted as noblemen at Clare in 1635 and 1637 respectively. Richard (d. 1712), the son and heir of Edward, Baron Gorges, succeeded his father, c. 1650, and became M.P. from 1661 to 1679 for Newton, Lancs. Sir Ferdinando himself became M.A. of Cambridge University in 1594-5, but no college is assigned to him in Venn's *Alumni*.

Our contemporary relations with early Puritan New England are far from being so personally central; indeed books (our two Red Indian "Eliot" Bibles, and another work, of which presently) are here a safer intermediary than persons. However, Richard Eaton, of Budworth, Cheshire, clerk, who matriculated sizar from Clare in 1566, was the father of four sons, two of whom, Governor Theophilus (founder of New Haven) and Nathaniel Eaton (pensioner at Trinity 1629-30) brought credit and discredit respectively to the nascent colony. Theophilus gave £40 towards the building of Harvard, while Master or Professor Nathaniel was the first head of the school which was afterwards organised as Harvard College, having in his charge not only the education of the students but the management of the endowments and of the building operations. Though talented and learned, his conduct was so outrageous<sup>1</sup> and so tyrannical that he was expelled the colony, and retired to (old) England *via* Virginia, being succeeded in 1640 by the Rev. Henry Dunster, to whom the title of President was first accorded.

With Dunster (who was at Magdalene, Cambridge, in 1627) we may pass to a

<sup>1</sup> Mather relates that while preparations were in progress for the erection of a college edifice "a society of scholars, to lodge in the new nests, were forming under the conduct of one Nathaniel Eaton, a blade who marvellously deceived the expectations of good men concerning him; for he was one fitter to be master of a Bridewell than a College; and though his avarice was notorious enough to get the name of Philargyrias fixed upon him, yet his cruelty was more scandalous than his avarice. He was a rare scholar himself, and he made many such; but their education was in the school of Tyrannus." *Hist. of Cambridge, Mass.* 1630-1877, by Lucius R. Paige, p. 539.

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more reputable, but unfortunately, too, more speculative connection. This first President (from 1640 to 1654) of Harvard College married, in 1641, Elizabeth, widow of the Rev. Jose Glover. Under this last name the last entry in Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* is as follows: "Glover, ——. Matric. pens. from Clare, Easter, 1613," and it is thought by J. Gardner Bartlett of the *New England Historic and Genealogical Society* that this *may* be the Rev. Jose, Josse, Jesse, Joas, or Joseph Glover<sup>1</sup>, Rector of Sutton, Surrey, who in 1638 made preparations for emigrating to New England; and among other things provided a printing press, types and furniture, and contracted with Stephen Day, 7 June 1638, to embark with him, and devote his services as he should direct. This was the first printing press established in the British American colonies. Mr Glover is understood to have embarked, and to have died on the passage. Shortly before his departure from England, being then in London, he executed a will from which it appears that he had already purchased estates in New England and possessed, in both Englands, a considerable property. His widow arrived safely with the children and a stock of merchandise, which from time to time she replenished, under the superintendence of John Stedman, her agent or steward, until on 22 June 1641 she became the wife of President Dunster.

Glover's printing press has immortalised him. Though he died *en route*, his ship arrived in the autumn of 1638, bringing with it "Stephen Day of Cambridge, county of Cambridge, locksmith to Josse Glover, clerk," as the bond between Day and Glover runs, "though, perhaps for prudential reasons, no mention is made in it concerning printing<sup>2</sup>."

Under date of March 1639, Winthrop says, "a printing-house was begun at Cambridge by one Daye, at the charge of Mr Glover, who died on sea hitherward. The first thing which was printed was the freeman's oath; the next was an almanac made for New England by Mr William Peirce, Mariner; the next was the Psalms newly turned into metre"—this last in 1640, the famous Bay Psalm Book<sup>3</sup>, "the first production of the American press that rises to the dignity of a book," and largely the work of John Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians." No wonder Benjamin Peirce, Librarian of Harvard, in his *History of Harvard University*, 1833, speaks of

<sup>1</sup> Glover's Christian name has appeared in various forms and antiquaries have doubted which was the true name. Proof has at last been presented that his widow and Mr Dunster wrote the name Josse; but that he himself wrote it Jose, three times in his last will. "Comparison of the forms Josse and Joas with the autograph Jose, shows that the name was pronounced as a monosyllable, and that the first vowel was moderately long." Glover, like his wife, was twice married, and through his first wife we may discover a clue to his college at Cambridge. This lady (as we learn from the monument erected by her husband in Sutton Church, 24 May 1629) was Sarah, daughter of Mr Roger Owfield, citizen of London. Cf. Paige, *History of Cambridge, Mass.*, pp. 559-60.

<sup>2</sup> Paige, *History of Cambridge, Mass.*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Also used in many societies in England and Scotland, it passed through a great number of editions, both at home and abroad.



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Glover as “the person who had the merit and honor of conferring this benefit upon the country”—i.e. “the first printing-press established north of Mexico, and which for many years continued to be the only one in British America,” and which as “an appendage of Harvard College distinguished the infancy of our University with the introduction of the art of printing into this part of the world.”

We may be pardoned before leaving Harvard for ‘reminding’ our readers that the change of Harvard College’s home-town name from “Newetowne” to Cambridge was due to so many of the colonists having been educated at the English University; while the naming “Harvard” was tribute to the inaugurating bequest of John Harvard, of Emmanuel College and *Southwark, next Rotherhithe*, where, as we shall see, the *Mayflower* was broken up some fifteen years before.

We have said much about the Glover-Eliot press; there is in our Library a copy of one New England Treatise of the 1630’s (Tractus Dd. 9. 31, with an autograph statement, “Pr. 7s. 6d.”) which that press did *not* produce. In the review of American literature, under “Beginnings,” *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* notes its pervasion with religion, and continues—“the sole voice heard in opposition was Thomas Morton’s satirical *New English Canaan* (1637), whose author was sent out of the colony for the scandal of Merrymount.” Morton was not at Clare, but his rare book is, and we may be pardoned, now, for an excursus upon a little work which, though without illustrations, is no doubt the most vivid as well as amusing of all the early and rare Americana in the College Library, or even, perhaps, at all. Its first and second “books” describe the natives, the country, and its resources. Although Morton acclaims “the wondrous wifedome and love of God” as “sfhewanne, by fending to the place his Minifter [the Plague] to fweepe away by heapes the Salvages,” his attitude to the residual Indians is modern in its kindly curiosity; he actually prefers these infidels to the Christian settlers, more especially in the third and last book<sup>1</sup>, which is full, like an old Scots’ “flyting,” of the spirit of satiric trounce, being mainly devoted to an amazingly graphic account of the methods and minds of separatist ministers and authorities of “Plimmouth,” and of Morton’s own experiences at their hands. His heinousness culminated in the “Revells of New Canaan” described in chapter xiv, when the inhabitants of Pasonagessit (himself and other non-puritans) resolve to celebrate the change (the translation) from that name to “Ma-re Mount,” and “after the old English custome . . . fett up a Maypole . . . brewed a barrell of excellent beare, and provided a cafe of bottles to be spent

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Bk III, ch. vi, p. 113. “And this as an article of the new creede of Canaan, would they have received of every new commer there to inhabit; that the Salvages are a dangerous people, fubtill, secreat, and mischiefous...nay they will not be reduced to any other song yet: but I have found the Maffachuffets Indian more full of humanity than the Chrifians, and have had much better quarter with them...” in fact “the more Salvages the better quarter, the more Chrifians the worfer quarter I found...” etc.

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with other good cheare, for all commers of that day.” Morton further quizzed the local “unco’ guids” in a witty allegorical poem, while the Maypole dancers sang a hymenal drinking-chorus to the song of one who “filled out the good liquor like gammedes and Jupiter.”

The fetting up of this Maypole was a lamentable speẽtle to the precise separtifts....They termed it an Idoll; yea they called it the Calfe of Horeb; and stood at defiance with the place...threatening to make it a woefull mount and not a merry mount...not knowing that it [the Maypole] was a Trophe erected at first, in honor of Maja the Lady of learning, which they despise; vilifying the two Univerfities with uncivile termes; accounting what is there obtained by studdy is but unneceffary learning; not confidering that learninge does inable mens mindes to converse with climents [*sic*] of a higher nature then is to be found within the habitation of the Mole.

In other words, one aspect of the Renaissance, the earlier, is here unexpectedly found at its extreme in conflict with an extreme development of the other, the Reformation aspect, and, in spite of Morton’s cavalier assumption, with university men on either side. The revels no doubt waxed licentious, but of the participants Morton at any rate may have been in some sort a “good sort” at heart, though to be no more was at least to prevaricate in the eyes of the elect. On the other hand, the earliest New England plight was too parlous to permit of dissolute behaviour, and the element of incurable “bad hat”<sup>1</sup> may have been uppermost at Maremount. Anyhow Morton was now persecuted. He was captured but “fained grieve,” and managing to steal out in the dead of night, shut the door after him with contemptuous violence, whereupon:

The word which was given with an alarme, was, o he’s gon, he’s gon, what shall wee doe he’s gon? the rest (halfe a fleepe) start up in a maze, and like rames, ran their heads at another full butt in the darke....The rest were eager to have torne their haire from their heads, but it was so short, that it would give them no hold [etc.]....In the meane time mine Host was got home to Ma-re Mount through the woods, eight miles, round about the head of the river Monatoquit...finding his way by the helpe of the lightening (for it thundred as hee went terribly) [etc.].

However, they got him again presently, and, to quote the heading to chapter xvi, “the 9 worthies put mine Host of Ma-re Mount into the inchaunted Castle at Plim-mouth,” etc., etc. Eventually in their embarrassment (“they stood betwixt Hawke and Buffard”) they ship this “Seperatift amongst the Seperatifts” back to old England, where, or in Amsterdam, the place of publication, “upon tenne yeares knowledge” of New England, he produced our book, with a poem to preface it by Sir Christopher Gardiner, knight, a somewhat reckless *alumnus* of Sidney Sussex College. Gardiner had also left the new colony in disgust<sup>2</sup>, and was a near neighbour, it appears, of Morton in the Rotherhithe region of transpontine London. This

<sup>1</sup> “Bad hat” would seem to be the verdict of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which also informs us that Morton’s career is the subject of J. L. Motley’s novels *Morton’s Hope* and *Merry Mount* and of Hawthorne’s short story *The Maypole of Merry Mount*.

<sup>2</sup> Bk III, ch. xxx. “How Sir Christopher Gardiner Knight speed [*sic*] amongst the Seperatifts.”



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fact and his collocation with Morton in *The New Canaan* context is not unlikely to lead to conclusive proof whether the *Mayflower's* timbers went to make up the barn at Jordans (of which presently) or no. Both men were particularly sprightly exponents of the *esprit* that characterised many university pensioners and fellow commoners who at this time passed from Oxford and Cambridge to the Inns of Court and the fields and seas of adventure. In New England they were gay fish in, to them, sour water. It might, however, be as well to put our readers *au fait* with the fact that Governor Bradford's successful stabilising of New England was largely due to his kindly tact with those kittle cattle, "the Salvages."

We come, finally, to modern times, and resume the name of Rendel Harris on a theme that likewise returns us to the *Mayflower*, and, in a double sense, to her return—imaginary, in Harris' tercentenary "interlude" *The Return of the Mayflower* to Plymouth; actual, through his having given a vague tradition the body and strength of probability, and "returned" the *Mayflower* not merely for final dissolution to Rotherhithe, but beyond that for ultimate preservation in the territorial heart of Quakerism, the Friends' meeting place at Jordans in Buckinghamshire. For there, tradition asserts, the timbers of the old ship, when broken up, were re-erected to make the great manorial barn, and tradition, Rendel Harris has gone far to prove, was right. If, as we too think, this is so, it is by a sleight of history that is both happy and ironical. That the ship which sailed with Puritans should have been salved for Friends, fortuitously, and half a century before their emergence into association, becomes, from a pleasing, a delightful coincidence, when we remember that Penn's great Quaker colonisings reinfused with the spirit of toleration—and a toleration far more catholic, less egocentric—the New England territories first settled by "separatist" Puritans of a caste somewhat over-theological and doctrinaire. On the other hand, there is a tinge of irony in the reflection that the *Mayflower* should become the heirloom of the Friends, for, to quote Rendel Harris,

it cannot be said that the Pilgrims, if they could have willed their property away, would have made such a bequest. Even at New Plymouth the Quaker invasion was not received amicably...the general criticism was hostile, and there was occasional violence along with the expression of adverse judgement. This is curious, in view of the fact that both the Pilgrims and the Quakers were the victims of the same hostile legislation...well, the ironies of history are the judgements of time, and have a sanctity of their own.

Rendel Harris was appropriately born (in 1852) and, in boyhood, educated at Plymouth; and we may best select, therefore, for special descriptive mention from his half dozen *Mayflower* tercentenary booklet souvenirs, the beautiful little "interlude" *The Return of the Mayflower*, written for the occasion of the celebrations in 1920, and, especially, to evoke support for his own momentous

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proposal to convert the citadel at old Plymouth (Eng.) into an Anglo-American and international University College. For, as he says at the outset of his quest to identify the *Mayflower's* timbers:

in view of the marvellous human issues which resulted from that great adventure on the part of a handful of religious enthusiasts, it is not uncommon for those who write of the [*Mayflower*] Pilgrims to make a pictorial parallel between the little ship in which they sailed and the famous Greek ship *Argo*....Just as the Greeks felt that Jason...was in reality under divine leading, and that even the timbers of the *Argo* were sacred, blended, as they say, with beams from the Holy Oak at Dodona, while her keel was laid under the direct supervision of the great goddess Athena, so there has been gathering round the story of the *Mayflower* an air of romance and of religion, which in an earlier day would have expressed itself in the terms of mythological fancy...the *Mayflower* is also undergoing a process of canonisation. Just as the Greeks rounded off the history of the *Argo* with various tales of earth and heaven, placing the complete ship in the temple of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth, and preserving fragments which were believed to belong to her woodwork far into historical times, and finally idealising her form in the firmament, so the modern student searches into the traces of the *Argo* of the Atlantic, and treasures up every reminiscence of her that history can suggest.

In his preface to the "interlude," Rendel Harris, still in an antique vein of reference, writes that in it he has

brought together men of different centuries, as though yesterday and to-day overlapped one another. ...The method is that of the ancient popular fancy as expressed in song. As Mr Walter Leaf says in his *Homer and History*, "the popular minstrel is intent only upon effect; and nothing is more effective than to bring together in personal converse the famous men of old times; he is not troubled by any questions of chronology." For the occasion, then, we are that popular minstrel of which Mr Leaf speaks.

So eight of the *dramatis personae* are *Mayflower* Pilgrims from New Plymouth, and four others are William Penn from Philadelphia, and George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson, Presidents of the United States. But alas, we have no space here to describe the play, with its stately and its penetrating dialogue; its recapitulation of their most famous political statements by Penn, Washington, Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson; and its exquisite hymn and moving closure.

Opposite this conclusion there is reproduced a picture of "The Gateway of the Citadel of Plymouth which it is proposed to turn into a University." This notable entrance, resembling that at St John's College, Oxford, is of the date and style of the era of the *Mayflower* venture, of the Ferrars, and of the gateways of Oley's east range of Clare. It would indeed round off three centuries as one if the latest project for an Anglo-American University were realised through the zeal of an *alumnus* whose mystical catholicity is as anxious and as unresting as that of the practical idealist, Nicholas Ferrar, who probably shared with Sandys the first substantial conception of an Anglo-American College, and took, with Sandys, the first substantial initiative for its realisation.

Not more than four of the remaining seven *Mayflower* tercentenary souvenirs



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can be mentioned here. *The Pilgrim Press* (1922) is a bibliographical and historical memorial of the books printed at Leyden by the Pilgrim Fathers, was written in conjunction with Stephen K. Jones, and has a chapter on the location of the press in Leyden by Dr Plooi, with a photograph of Brewster's printing-house as it is to-day. Thirty-eight plates show a score of title-pages, specimen pages, ornaments, etc., and of these Clare men should note Fig. 5, the Admonition to Parliament of 1570-1 (cf. our life of Cartwright); Fig. 8, *Commentarii in Proverbia Salomonis auctore Thoma Cartwrighto SS. Theologiae in Academia Cantabrigiensi quondam Professore* (cf. also Figs. 26 and 32); Fig. 16, Cartwright's *Confutation of the Rhemists*; and Fig. 6, with MS. handwriting across its title-page supposed to be written by Penry (cf. our life of Barrow) and Udal (whose autograph *ex dono* occurs on a title-page in the College Library).

*The Documents concerning the appraisement of the "Mayflower"*—at, or just before, her breaking up—is the title of Souvenir No. 1. The appraisers were two "marriners" and two "shippwrights" of Redriffe or Rotherhithe (cf. Chapter II). This pamphlet was published between the two romantically detective booklets of the celebrant year (1920), *The Last of the "Mayflower"* and *The Finding of the "Mayflower,"* the latter the occasion, at the time, of no little stir in the daily press, and, since then, of a controversy, to us amusingly diversified by subtle prevarication, in *The Mariner's Mirror*, the *Journal of the Society for Nautical Research*. But even more amusing for the rounding of our tercentenary connection with the Virginia Company of the Ferrars and with *Mayflower* New England is the quite fortuitous coincidence that four of the six participants in *The Finding* controversy happen to be Clare men, of whom one—R. C. Anderson—was not only editor of *The Mariner's Mirror* when the issues were joined, but is also the designer and in part the actual maker of the *Mayflower*-type<sup>1</sup> ship model for the Hall of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth, Massachusetts.

With the discovery of the appraisement by Mr R. J. Marsden, and by Rendel

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the article "A *Mayflower* Model" in *The Mariner's Mirror* for July 1926 (Vol. XII, No. 3), as to the title of which Mr Anderson utters the emphatic proviso that the model is and could only be of "a normal English merchantman of the size and date of the *Mayflower*—i.e. not 'a model of the *Mayflower*'" but "a *Mayflower* model," the model of a ship of about 180 tons, which may be "the same ship as the *Mayflower* that served against the Armada in 1588, since we know that she was an old ship in 1620." "For dimensions the *Adventure* of Ipswich was a perfect godsend. She was used in 1627 to illustrate the results of various methods of tonnage measurement.... There was not much difficulty about the midship section. Those given in *Fragments of Ancient Shipwrightry* in the Pepysian Library and in *An Excellent Brief and easy Treatise on Shipbuilding* in the Scott collection at the Institution of Naval Architects agree so well that they must be quite normal for the time. With the dimensions, the profile, and the midship section thus settled, and with a rough idea as to the deck plan and internal arrangements, I turned the job over to Mr L. A. Pritchard, who prepared the 'lines' and the profile and deck plans on a scale of  $\frac{1}{24}$ , the scale on which the model was to be built" to represent a ship 64 ft. by 26 ft. by 11 ft., which "with a total rake forward and aft of the same amount as her beam, 26 ft." gave "a nice round number of 90 ft. for her length from stem to stern post."

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Harris of its decisive significance *qua* the end of the ship as a seafaring entity in 1624, the way became clear to attempt a conclusive answer, in *The Finding of the "Mayflower,"* to the final problem, "What was the end of her component timbers?" Space again forbids us to do more than recall the genesis of Rendel Harris' solution. The scene now shifts from the seas (*The Last of the "Mayflower"*) and (temporarily) from Rotherhithe to the country of Penn and of Milton, the parish of Chalfont St Giles in Buckinghamshire, within which is the manor of Grove Place, once owned, in the 16th and early 17th centuries, by a family called Gardiner. Within this manor, again, is situate the old Quaker Meeting House "built in the year of grace (for free men and free thought) 1688," and adjoined by an old farm called Jordans, in whose kitchen in the 17th century (up till 1688) Friends, such as Milton's intimate, Elwood<sup>1</sup>, used to meet.

This farmhouse the Society of Friends have recently repurchased, and with it the farm buildings, etc., "of which the most notable was [and is] a magnificent old barn, itself of the 17th century, and a bit of an old world sunken garden." The old farm was done up as a hostel of residence, and Rendel Harris had the honour<sup>2</sup> of opening it on 13 July 1912. Some time later, during a funeral in the Friends' burying place hard by, some one pointed out the barn to him as being "built out of the wood of the *Mayflower*." "I was busied with thoughts elsewhere and paid no immediate attention to what was said. Later on the observation came back to me: I found my fingers closing on a clue."

What this clue was, and what the other clues and arguments, we must, in true serial technique, withhold from our readers here, only mentioning that two forms of "witness" are involved, direct existing concrete evidence from the timbers themselves, and the thickening of the probabilities round the persons connected with the *Mayflower's* breaking-up. So far, undue concentration on the sphere of concrete evidence has led to deadlock amongst the disputants, though the leading *Mariner* protagonist, Mr J. W. Horrocks, seems to lean, as if *malgré lui-même*, towards acquiescence. But final proof, we have little doubt, will come through persons, *via* genealogy rather than structural archaeology, in spite of Mr Anderson's "some genealogical investigations which do not concern us." Indeed we believe we have gone the greater part of the distance already, for our reconstruction of the Gardiner genealogy (undertaken against time to try and clinch the matter for this book) shows the family who owned Jordans in the crucial third decade of the 17th century as owners, contemporaneously, of half a dozen manors in the immediate neighbourhood (Bermondsey, Peckham, etc.) of Rotherhithe,

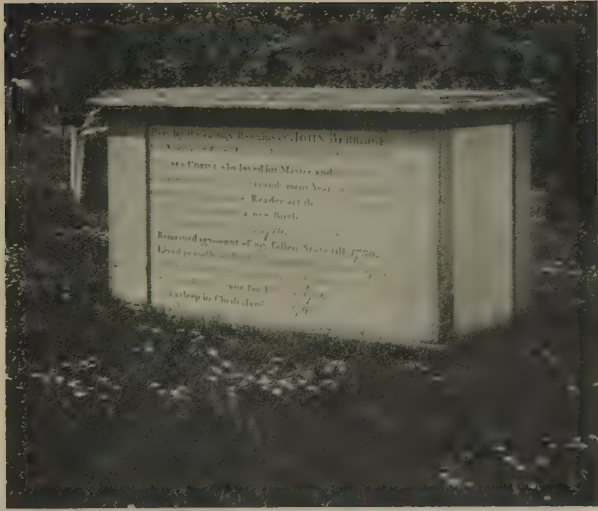
<sup>1</sup> At the time of the Elwood-Milton intimacy it was known, significantly, as *New Jordans*.

<sup>2</sup> He had been elected, in October 1906, President of the National Council of Free Churches—"the blue ribbon of Nonconformity," as was then remarked in *The Lady Clare Magazine*.





THE REV. JOHN BERRIDGE  
(Cf. Chap. II)



TOMB OF BERRIDGE AT EVERTON  
(Cf. Chap. II)



THE CHURCH PLATE, EVERTON-CUM-TETWORTH  
(Cf. Chap. II)



*From "The Finding of the 'Mayflower,'" by J. Rendel Harris (Longmans, Green & Co. 1920)*

THE BARN AT JORDANS, CHALFONT ST GILES, BUCKS

Constructed, possibly, from the timbers of the *Mayflower*



*Reproduced by courtesy from "Country Life" for 30 Oct. 1926*

ESHER

"Where Kent and Nature vie for Pelham's Love"



## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: MASERES AND CANADA

while Rendel Harris' presumption of a special Gardiner connection with Puritan New England bids fair to associate that ilk with perhaps the most fantastic personality in the whole history of early new world colonisation—Sir Christopher Gardiner, Knight, already mentioned in our description of Morton's *New English Canaan*. We hope that in some *Clare Association Annual*, shortly, we may be able to forge this towardly final link to the chain which has so interestingly connected Clare with America through a complete era, one might almost term it, of exactly three centuries, and may so completely accomplish the notable conclusion all but consummated by Rendel Harris to his amazing activities on behalf of the spirit of everything that lay and lies behind the *Mayflower* celebrations of 1920.

It is difficult to decide in what connection we should take Francis Maseres, whose very long life (1731–1824) was compact with an extraordinary variety of achievement. Mathematician, historian, lawyer, politician, theologian, reformer, linguist, translator, and man of art and letters generally, a main convergence of his legal and literary interests upon the Temple, and of his legal and political activities on the American colonies, particularly Canada, have disposed us to place him near Dulany and Townshend, with even whose abilities his should almost certainly be ranked.

Maseres was born in London, of French descent, from a family driven to England by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His father was a physician of Broad Street, Soho, and finally of Rathbone Place, his mother yclept Magdalene du Prat du Clareau, a surname which may or may not have suggested his passing from school at Kingston-upon-Thames to Clare, where he was admitted with his brother Peter on 4 July 1748, as “pensioner and pupil to Mr Courtail.” Both graduated in 1752, Peter as junior optime, Francis fourth wrangler.

The precocious versatility of Francis is witnessed by his having contributed, as a freshman of seventeen, to a book of congratulatory verses published by the University; the year of his Tripos saw the institution, by the Duke of Newcastle, of Chancellor's classical medals, and saw too Francis receive the first of them from the hands of the doubtless highly gratified ducal *alumnus* of the recipient's own college. On 23 January of the same eventful year, Maseres was admitted Joseph Diggons scholar, and on 24 September 1756, after proceeding M.A. in 1755, was elected to a Fellowship on the Exeter foundation. Admitted to the Inner Temple in 1750, he was called to the Bar in 1758, becoming bencher of his Inn in 1774, reader in 1781, and treasurer in 1782.

Maseres resigned his Fellowship in 1759, and from 1766–9 “filled the post of attorney general of Quebec with such zeal and dignity that on his return to England he was requested by the protestant settlers in that city to act as their agent.” In

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1770 his intimacy with North American affairs produced his *Considerations on the expediency of admitting Representatives from the American Colonists to the House of Commons*, while in 1772-6 he published pamphlets connected with the establishment of a House of Assembly, etc., in the province of Quebec. In 1776-9 he published *The Canadian Freeholder, a Dialogue showing the sentiments of the bulk of the Freeholders on the late Quebec Act*, a work which drew from Burke, in his support, the draft of a long letter on the same subject (cf. Burke's *Correspondence*, II, 310-12). Some correspondence between Maseres and Franklin is also to be found in the latter's works, and letters from him are among the Lansdowne and Dartmouth collections.

From 1773 till his death in 1824 Maseres filled the post of Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, "a length of tenure without parallel in the records of the law"—a statement which might also apply to his holding the office of senior judge of the sheriff's court of the city of London from 1780 till 1822. He died at his country house in Reigate in 1824, leaving £30,000 to relatives named Whitaker, and his library to the Inner Temple. "He left nothing to his college, and there is a tradition that his original will included a legacy for it, but that, as he was never asked by its heads to sit for his portrait, he cancelled the bequest." There is, however, a good portrait, drawn in 1815, by Charles Hayter, and he is commemorated by a monument in Reigate church.

Of Maseres' numerous and varied publications we must say little here. He edited a great number of historical reprints, including two volumes of tracts on the Civil War and Cromwellian usurpation, as well as of some of Milton's prose tracts and *History of Britain*. Milton he greatly admired; Hobbes he knew in and out. His translations include Montesquieu's "View of the English constitution" in *L'Esprit des Lois*. "He spoke French fluently, but it was the language in idiom and expression which his ancestors brought over to England."

In mathematics, as elsewhere, Maseres was prominent, though rather, now, as reactionary than as reformer. Priestly describes his work as "original and excellent." Frend [author of the *Principles of Algebra*] and he "set themselves against the rest of the world. They rejected negative quantities and 'made war of extermination on all that distinguishes algebra from arithmetic.' Their leading idea seems to have been 'to calculate more decimal places than any one would want, and to reprint the works of all who had done the same thing.'"

Maseres, at Reigate and elsewhere, was ever a generous and cultured host. "He was devoted to the classics, knew Homer and Horace by heart and was fond of Lucan." But his life, writes Courtney,

was bound up with the Temple; he is introduced by Charles Lamb in his "Essay on the Old Benchers of the Inner Temple" as walking, "in the costume of the reign of George the second," and he per-



## NINETEENTH CENTURY: JOHN PHEAR, INDIA

severed until the end of his days in wearing the "three cornered hat, tye wig and ruffles." His rooms were at 5, King's Bench Walk, where he lived in a style described by Lamb in a letter written to Thomas Manning in April, 1801, and although out of term he used to dine at his house in Rathbone Place, he always returned to the Temple to sleep....A good chess-player of such admirable sang froid as never to exhibit any sign of victory or defeat, he combatted Philidor, who was blind-folded, at the chess club in St James' street, and it was two hours before he was beaten....

Maseres was a zealous protestant and whig and a warm advocate for reforms in the Church of England, but not in favour of a wide scheme of electoral reform. He wore his wig and gown on a visit to Cobbett in Newgate, to show his abhorrence of the sentence which had been inflicted on the prisoner; and through sympathy with the sacrifice of position and profit by Theophilus Lindsey, he adopted in later life the principles of unitarianism, and suggested an important variation which was inserted in the Reformed Liturgy in 1793<sup>1</sup>.

If he published much himself, his wealth was liberally bestowed in aid of publications by others.

We may close on Bentham's appreciation of Maseres as "the public-spirited constitutionalist, and one of the most honest lawyers England ever saw," and as "an honest fellow, who resisted Lord Mansfield's projects for establishing despotism in Canada. *There was a sort of simplicity about him which I once quizzed and then repented.*" The italics are ours.

Just after Maseres' long life had closed, a future Clare man was born who was also to distinguish himself, after a college career in mathematics, in the administration of justice in distant colonies, and to live, if not so long as Maseres, at any rate to become an octogenarian. Sir John Budd Phear (1825-1905) was born at Earl Stonham, Suffolk, the eldest of three sons of a Fellow and Tutor of Pembroke Hall who was 13th wrangler in 1815. John Phear's two brothers Henry (later Fellow of Caius) and Samuel (later Fellow and Master of Emmanuel) were also second and fourth wranglers in 1849 (when Henry was also first Smith's prizeman) and 1852 respectively. John himself went to Pembroke, and graduating thence 6th wrangler in 1847, was elected in the same year to a Fellowship and mathematical lectureship at Clare.

Called to the Bar in 1854, John Phear left Cambridge, though retaining his Fellowship till 1865. After work on the western and Norfolk circuits, he was appointed, in 1864, a judge of the High Court of Bengal, at Calcutta. "He was in complete sympathy with the natives of India and they acknowledged his wise and impartial administration of justice. He displayed activity in other than judicial work, was president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1870-1), of the Bengal Social Science Association, and of the Bethune Society (for social purposes), and closely studied native social life." Leaving Calcutta in 1876, Phear was knighted in 1877

<sup>1</sup> This long quotation we gratefully acknowledge to W. P. Courtney's "Life of Maseres" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, upon which the rest of this article is based.

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and raised to be chief justice of Ceylon, where he revised the civil and criminal code and received from the Ceylon Bar a portrait of himself in recognition of his services. From 1879 till his death he resided at Marpool Hall, Exmouth. A keen Liberal, he thrice unsuccessfully contested Devon county divisions. Like Baring-Gould, he contributed to the publications of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, and, like Baring-Gould, was an ardent sportsman. He was buried at Littleham, leaving three children by Emily, daughter of John Bolton of Burnley House, Stockwell.

A life of Phear, from which ours here is drawn, occurs in the second supplement, vol. III, of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. We are there informed that his most important publication, *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon*, "embodies the fruit of much intelligent observation."

In vol. v, No. 3 (Easter Term 1906) of *The Lady Clare Magazine* we are told that shortly before Dr Atkinson, then Tutor of Clare, was elected to the Mastership, "one morning there was discovered pinned to the doorway of the Dons' staircase (E) the following couplet

Atkinson's sheep need not Phear  
The Wolfe, for Sheppard's Power is near.

The following morning a variation was found beside it

The Sheppard need not Phear the Wolfe  
For there is a Power on high.

As one ascended the staircase, the rooms were respectively occupied by Atkinson, Phear, the Rev. A. Wolfe, Atkinson's successor as Tutor, the Rev. Francis Sheppard, later of Patrinton, and the Rev. Joseph Power, University Librarian, firstly Fellow of Clare, then Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Hall, then again Fellow of Clare, who from coming up in October 1817 to his death nearly fifty years later was never absent from Cambridge for a term. Mr Wolfe went on to Fornham, only to find, as Rector and Curate of the other Fornhams, Mr Hogg and Mr Stote-Fox."

Among prominent Clare men in the first half of the last century, one stands out pre-eminently, the Rev. George Hull Bowers. He was the son of Mr Francis Bowers, and was born in 1794 in Staffordshire. He was ordained deacon and priest in 1819, and on 27 April of that year was admitted to Clare, evidently as a ten-year man, as he took his B.D. in 1829 and D.D. in 1849.

He was appointed Rector of St Paul's, Covent Garden, in 1831, and in 1847 was preferred to the Deanery of Manchester, a post which he held till 26 September 1871, when he resigned. He died at Leamington 27 December 1872.



## NINETEENTH CENTURY

Bowers devoted himself to the cause of education. In 1842 he published *A scheme for the Foundation of Schools for the Sons of Clergymen and Others*; and he and the Rev. C. E. Plater were the joint founders of Marlborough College (of which a Clare man, Matthew Wilkinson, was the first Head Master).

Bowers was almost as prominent an inaugurator of successful schools as Archdeacon Robert Johnson, who flourished, as has been related, some two hundred and fifty years earlier. Two other great schools, Rossall and Haileybury, also owe their foundation to his suggestion. He was a member of the original Council of Marlborough College in 1843, and was Chairman of the Council of Rossall School from 1851 to 1869. There is an oil painting of him at Rossall School.

The Hon. Sir H. N. Peller Crease, formerly scholar of Clare, took his degree in 1847. In 1861 he was appointed Attorney-General of British Columbia, and in 1870 became Senior Puisne Judge of the Colony—a post which he held with distinction for nearly thirty years. On his retirement he returned to England where he died in the spring of 1905.

Sir Edward Charles Buck, K.C.S.I., was born in 1838 and received his early education first at Norwich School and afterwards at Oakham. He entered Clare in 1857 and graduated in 1861, receiving from the University the Honorary Degree of LL.D. in 1886. He was for many years a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, and was Secretary of Revenue and Agriculture to the Government of India from 1882 to 1897. In this capacity he represented India at the Colonial Exhibition of 1886. In 1900 he was elected to an Honorary Fellowship at Clare. He had made a special study of the problem of the prevention of Famines in India, and the country owes him a great deal for his researches. He died in 1915.

James Butler Knill Kelly entered Clare in 1850, became a scholar of the College, and graduated in 1853. Though he was not a man of any great gifts, intellectual or social, his high character and simple piety won for him a position of remarkable influence in the College. After going down he held for some years the post of domestic chaplain to the Bishop of Sodor and Man, but his heart was in missionary work, and he gladly accepted the Principalship of the Missionary College at St John's, Newfoundland, in 1865. In 1867 he was consecrated Co-adjutor Bishop of Newfoundland, and ten years later succeeded Dr Field as Bishop. There he did splendid work, facing many perils and difficulties of sea and land. Once his ship was wrecked and he narrowly escaped with his life. After years of missionary activity he was forced by bad health to resign, and was soon afterwards (in 1886) elected Bishop of Moray and Ross, becoming Primus of Scotland in 1890. He died at Inverness in May 1904, deeply mourned by Presbyterians as well as by members of his own Communion.

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Richard Young came up to Clare in 1865, and took his B.A. in 1868. For many years he laboured as a missionary in the far West of Canada, becoming Bishop of Athabaska in 1884. There he worked with conspicuous success till his health broke down and he was compelled to resign his See, coming home in 1903 only to die. Before he left Canada the University of Manitoba conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.D., and the University of Toronto gave him the D.C.L.

We may fittingly conclude this historical chapter with a brief life of our late—and in point of tenure of office record-breaking—Master.

Edward Atkinson, D.D., Master of Clare from 1856 to 1915, was born at Leeds in 1819, and received his early education at Leeds Grammar School. His father was a tradesman in that town, and a story, probably apocryphal, credits Leeds' great Vicar, Dr Hook, with discovering the boy's turn for scholarship. It is an historical fact, however, that his friends sent him to Germany to continue his studies, and after two years there he obtained a Sizarship at Clare in 1838, being elected into a Scholarship at the end of his first term of residence. His degree in 1842 (Charles Kingsley's year) was sufficiently distinguished. He was 3rd Classic and a Senior Optime.

At that time there were only about 40 undergraduates in Clare Hall, the then Master, Dr Webb, stoutly opposing the admission of men who could not be accommodated in the College buildings. Among so small a company Atkinson's distinction was all the more marked. He was at once elected Fellow and made Lecturer in Classics, succeeding to the office of Tutor eight years later. In the existing society, he represented new ideas. Dr Webb had been Master and Bursar for thirty-five years, and his administration of College finance left much to be desired. It fell to the young Tutor to begin the task of getting things straight, and in 1856 (when Dr Webb died) he found himself, at the early age of thirty-seven, elected Master. His marriage to Miss Carter Smith (niece of Mr Williamson, an eminent mathematician and former Fellow of the College) soon followed.

He is said, then and on other occasions, to have referred to his "usual good fortune." There was truth as well as modesty in the phrase. Things turned out fortunately for him to an extent that was perhaps his chief misfortune. Had he had to fight his way more, his marked abilities might have produced more fruit. As it was, he left no book to preserve any record of much learning; and of the unremitting conscientious work with which his days were filled, all too much should have been done by subordinates. To the last he was conducting all his business with his own hand, a neat little script written without glasses, wonderfully firm and clear for so old a man.



## EDWARD ATKINSON, MASTER OF CLARE

Atkinson was Vice-Chancellor in 1862-3, 1868-70 and 1876-8, at a time when the office still involved the auditing of the whole of the University accounts. His services to the University in this and other ways received public recognition at the time of his jubilee as Master in 1906. He died in 1915, only six years after Mrs Atkinson.

He had lived to see an old order replaced by a new. On the whole he was conservative, and fought hard against much that was destined to triumph. In his later days he appeared a survivor of a past age, keeping up the old traditions of aloofness and Olympian dignity which had been associated with Headship of a House. Yet under his Mastership the College was firmly re-established as a place of education, seriously striving after the efficient discharge of its intrinsic function. His successor, William Loudon Mollison, late Senior Tutor, is still with us, and was, happily, able to preside at the luncheon party given in honour of Princess Mary and Viscount Lascelles to celebrate the Sexcentenary of the foundation of the College.





CHAPTER V  
ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC





## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

In Chapter IV we have devoted ourselves in the main (with the reservation of Oley and Ferrar for the special Chapters VIII and IX) either to a history of the College and of its governance under prominent Masters and Tutors, or to the biographies of *alumni* whose doings in spheres of administration more widely public have earned them a measure of fame.

From such it has been thought advisable to segregate now for separate treatment a number of worthies whose claims to remembrance rest chiefly on their contributions to literature, or to the plastic arts and music—on the production, too, of works that, hybrids often between literature and history or philosophy, have long since fallen out of date or fame, and yet, when rediscovered in a spirit of sympathy mingled inevitably with quiz, awaken curiously the distant din of hard-fought transitions in epochs of intellectual *sturm und drang*.

To take, first, literature, it must at once be owned that, if Chaucer be denied us, we may chute the centuries down to very modern times before any very real creative excellence is encountered. The parodies of Seaman and the war-time and social satires of Sassoon (not to mention his exquisite lyrics) have nowhere predecessors of equal virtue. Chaucer out of court (though our co-sexcentenarian, Oriel College, claims his great contrary contemporary, Langland), we can approach none but these two still living Clare poets in any very genuine spirit of delighted appraisal. In short, the very great majority of our men of letters are personages flavoured with literature, not personalities aflame with creation, and it is, in the great main, to a matter of small fry that we must expect, now, to settle down.

Though we number amongst Clare names that of a Poet Laureate, it is only with an equivocal smirk that we can bring ourselves to record this precariously marginal distinction, and most of our 'poetry' hails from an age and *milieu* when polished persons *minced* in where angels fear to tread. Our preachers, indeed, have as good claims as any to rank first in our low literary flight; and when we contrast the clear and simple candlelight of the style which Latimer may well have lit for Tillotson with the modish flickerings from such sconces as those of Philpotts, Whitehead—or Dodd!—we are filled with an *éclaircissement* that most of our poetical yesterdays have lighted fools, etc., and misgivings prompt immediate resort to the candle-snuffer. However, a closer scrutiny has shewn us that something may be got from dallying rather with the personalities than with the poetasterics of our versifiers, on a par with whom we may set such quasi- or semi-literary miscellaneous eccentrics as are to be mentioned later.

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

But—living old Clare men aside—in the search for what sparse laurels the desert offers it is to Drama, once, and to Music, recently, that we may turn with most conviction. Let us open then convincingly with our one considerable public dramatist, the notorious Robert Greene, whom, even so, we must share with St John's, the nursing college, be it remembered, of Ruggle also.

Part fool, part knave, part genuine artist, Greene vacillated always and prodigiously between a triangle of stools, set with its upward slope towards the apex, where the high artist's seat was seldom visited or attained—approached, indeed, generally, only on the arc of a trajectory that, rising in urgent reaction from one angle of his gravitational base-line, inevitably drew Greene down again into the cruel re-entrant of the other. In his impetus between their up- and over-turnings, it was as though these base stools, of fool and knave, were bandying him between them—as if a Sisyphean career had been predetermined for him by the hectic spirit of *poltergeist* rather than by the august decisiveness of *Nemesis*. And so Greene found himself destined to hurtle transiently through the poetic aether—though even that was something. Another “bad” Clare man—parson, too, turned playwright—was not even so far compensated, for Greene's neglected guardian angel *was* an angel of beauty, and his folly knew high beauty in a rush that was not wholly trespass. But Dr William Dodd, whose dissoluteness is even more humanly revealing, possessed no sort of interior angel, nor any exterior one, until, in the close expectation of humiliating death, he found to champion his sordid cause the noble humanity of Dr Johnson.

Robert Greene was baptized in Norwich on 11 July 1558. In November 1575 he entered St John's College, as a sizar, and took his B.A. from there in 1578; but his university life was far from orderly. “Being at the University of Cambridge,” he says in his *Repentence*, “I lit amongst wags as lewd as myself, with whom I consumed the flower of my youth, who drew me to travel [evidently after he took his degree] into Italy and Spain, in which places I saw and practised such villany as is abhominable to declare.” After about a year's travelling he seems to have returned to Cambridge and settled in Clare, for the second part of his first novel *Mamilia* is dated “from my study in Clare Hall,” and he took his M.A. from there in 1583. Already he was writing rapidly, and in the next seven years he published no less than twenty novels and collections of love stories, of which the most important were *Menaphon* and *Pandosto*, from which Shakespeare drew the plot of *The Winter's Tale*. The lyrics with which these novels are interspersed are their most delightful feature; they have all that lightness and simple charm which was the dowry of the Elizabethans, and the best of them, *Samela*, has an honoured place in *The Oxford Book of English Verse*.

Early in 1586 Greene married “a gentleman's daughter of good account” and



## SIXTEENTH CENTURY: GREENE

settled for a while in Norwich; but having consumed his wife's dowry, he deserted her and went to London, shortly after the birth of his son. In a somewhat highly coloured passage in *A Groat's-worth of Wit* he describes what was undoubtedly the course of his own London life:

He had shift of lodgings, where in every place his hostess writ up the woeful remembrance of him, his laundress, and his boy; for they were ever in his household, besides retainers in sundry other places. His company were lightly the lewdest persons in the land, apt for pilfery, perjury, or any villany. Of these he knew the casts to cog at dice; by these he learnt the legerdemains of nips, foists, conycatchers, cross-biters, lifts, high-lawyers [highway-men] and all the rabble of that unclean generation of vipers. . . . How often the gentlewoman his wife laboured vainly to recall him is lamentable to note; but as one given over to all lewdness he communicated her sorrowful lines among his loose trulls, that jested at her bootless laments.

He kept as his mistress the sister of one Cutting Ball, a famous thief, who was hanged at Tyburn. But Greene's rake's progress does not seem to have been quite as that of ordinary men, for, he says later, "from whoredom I grew to drunkenness, from drunkenness to swearing and blaspheming the name of God, and hereof grew quarrels, frays, and continual controversies, which are now as worms in my conscience gnawing incessantly." All the time, however, he was writing furiously; besides novels and pamphlets, he was producing plays with his habitual fertility—"for he writ more than four other," says his friend Nashe. Greene was one of the small group of university men who made possible the development of the Elizabethan drama to the greatness it soon afterwards achieved; and, although the bombast and exaggeration of plays like *Orlando Furioso* and *Alphonsus, King of Aragon* read like burlesques of the popular work of Marlowe, his *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*<sup>1</sup> and *James IV* undoubtedly paved the way for Shakespeare's romantic comedies. It is fairly certain, too, that he had some share in the original *Henry VI* plays, which Shakespeare afterwards revised.

Greene's incessant writing was not long in creating for him a public. "In a night



ROBERT GREENE IN HIS STUDY

<sup>1</sup> In *The Review of English Studies* for April 1926 an interesting list of revivals of English dramatic works between 1919 and 1925 was made by Mr Harold Child. Greene's name does not occur. Before the publication, however, of that issue, *The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon and Frier Bungay* had been acted on 16 Feb. 1926 by the members of St Hugh's, Oxford, all the masculine parts being undertaken by the women undergraduates. A newspaper report asserts: "The audience, which was largely composed of undergraduates, was chiefly amused by the scenes dealing with the medieval university at Oxford."

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

and a day," says Nashe, "would he have yarked up a pamphlet as well as in seven year; and glad was that printer that might be so blest to pay him dear for the very dregs of his wit." As he grew popular the innate theatricality of the man asserted itself more and more strongly, both in his writings and in his doings. He had become, he knew, a literary figure, a personality; and he was not slow to take advantage of the fact. He wore "a very fair cloak with sleeves of green"; his hair was extravagantly long, after the manner of the thieves and cut-purses with whom he associated; and his beard was "a jolly long red peak, like the spire of a steeple, which he cherished continually without cutting, whereat a man might hang a jewel, it was so sharp and pendant."

In 1591 Greene's pamphleteering took a new turn; he announced that he was going to give over his "superficial labours" of writing love tales, and expose the villainous devices of the London underworld. So the five "cony-catching" pamphlets followed one another in quick succession. "Cony" (or rabbit) was the cant term by which the cheaters described their victim; and Greene showed up the many dangers which beset the unwary youth or countryman from dicers and card-sharpers (the cony-catchers proper), pick-pockets ("nips" and "foists") and blackmailers ("cross-biters"). Greene professed that his sole aim was to rid the State of these "caterpillars" by exposing them, but that his main purpose was to amuse is shown by any of his title-pages, as, for instance: "The Second and Last Part of Cony-catching, with new additions containing many merry tales of all laws worth the reading, because they are worthy to be remembered, Discoursing strange cunning in cosenage, which if you read without laughing, I'll give you my cap for a noble. *Mallet non esse quam non prodesse patriae.*" Greene states that the thieves were so angry at his disclosures that they swore to cut off his hand to prevent him from writing any more, and in another

A DISPUTATION,  
Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher, and a  
Shee Conny-catcher, whether a Theefe or a Whoore, is  
most hurtfull in Cousonage, to the Com-  
mon-wealth.  
DISCOVERING THE SECRET VILLA-  
nies of alluring Strumpets.  
With the Conuersion of an English Courtizen, reformed  
this present yeare, 1592.  
Reade, laugh, and learne.  
*Nasimus pro patria.*  
R. G.



Imprinted at London, by A. I. for T. G. and are to be sold at  
the West endc of Paules. 1593.

By courtesy of Messrs John Lane, Ltd.,  
The Bodley Head.



## ROBERT GREENE, DRAMATIST

pamphlet describes an attempt on his life; but one has a suspicion that this is mere self-advertisement, particularly as much of his information is taken directly from older books on the same subject.

Further disclosures were promised in his *Black Book*, in which he said he was going to set down the names and addresses of all the rogues in London; but these were cut short by his death. Greene's body was already worn out by the disease which was the result of his dissipations, but the immediate cause of his death was a surfeit of Rhenish wine and pickled herrings. We owe some of the details of his last hours to Gabriel Harvey, whom he had insulted in *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, or *a quaint dispute between Velvet-breeches and Cloth-breeches*. Harvey maliciously gathered all the details of Greene's life that he could lay hands on and published a slashing attack on his dead enemy. Greene, sick and deserted by all his friends except his former mistress and another woman, found shelter in the house of a poor shoemaker. He was ill in body and mind; he was afflicted by the pangs of repentance and remorse; but he was not too ill to work. He still had his public in mind, and with a last gesture he proclaimed his repentance for a misspent life in two brief pamphlets. He feared he was going to die; but if he should live he was going to make profit even from his illness. But he rapidly grew worse, and the day before his death he wrote to the wife he had not seen for six years, imploring her to pay his host<sup>1</sup>. He died on 3 September 1592, at the age of thirty-three, and after his death the poor shoemaker's wife, in accordance with his wishes, crowned him with a wreath of bay leaves. Even in his sordid death he was theatrical; but in his death, as in his best writings, one catches a glimpse of a man who was never quite subdued by the surroundings into which he plunged himself.

<sup>1</sup> We quote the following from Mr B. W. Downs' *Cambridge Past and Present*, p. 169:

"Morally, perhaps, he [Greene] is not the House's greatest adornment. He migrated thither, however, from St John's. It is curious, though, that the two finest valedictory utterances in the English language should have been uttered by two Clare men of such different characters and attainments. That of Latimer is well known, as he stood, old but undaunted, with a spark of his uncouth humour still in him, at the Oxford

### THE THIRDE and last Part of Conny- catching.

WITH THE NEW DEVISED  
knauish Art of Foole-taking.

The like Cosenages and Villenies neuer before  
discovered.

By R. G.



Imprinted at London by Thomas Scarlet for  
Cutberd Burbie, and are to be folde at his shoppe in the  
Poultrie, by S. Mildreds Church. 1592.

*Not in Ames's H. of Printing*

By courtesy of Messrs John Lane, Ltd.,  
The Bodley Head.

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

A younger contemporary of Greene, George Ruggle may stand for the University and private as opposed to the London and public practice of the Drama. *Club Law*, however, is more nearly related to the *genre* of Greene than to that of the usual academic play, and since the matter is so intimately amusing, we may here expand a little Mr Wardale's account of the play, to accompany our illustrations (not made when Mr Wardale wrote) from the finely written MS. of the play kindly lent us for the purpose of making them by the Librarian of St John's. This MS., in a hand perhaps contemporary with the play's production, was brought to light by Dr Moore Smith in the following manner:

In June, 1906, when examining manuscripts of Latin academic plays in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge, I asked to see one which had been described about sixty years ago in the following terms: "S. 62. Translation of some Latin Play (I conjecture). MS. Folio paper. The beginning is wanting." On examination it seemed clear that the play before me was not a Translation from the Latin, but an original English play, and one that dealt with the relations of University men to the Corporation of a Town. For the moment I had to leave the matter, but on reading soon afterwards Fuller's account of the play *Club Law* it occurred to me that the Cambridge manuscript was probably that comedy. In August, 1906, I transcribed the manuscript, and it became at once clear that the lost *Club Law* had come to light.

This is probably the identical MS. which appeared in 1798 in the catalogue of the famous literary Master of Emmanuel, Richard Farmer, as follows:

"\*744<sup>I</sup> Club-Law, a merry but abusive Comedy, MS. Acted at Clare Hall. 1597-8."

After the sale, what came to be looked on as Farmer's "supposed manuscript" of *Club Law* "disappeared from view, and the play for more than a century was practically lost."

The play owed its origin to an acute late Elizabethan phase of the inveterate feud between Town and University, a feud arising from the University's possession of extraordinary privileges which had descended to it from the Middle Ages. In 1589 the contestants had at long length agreed as to the terms of their respective charters in regard to Stourbridge Fair, but the Mayor who had assented to the concordat was held by many to have betrayed the town, and feeling ran so bitterly that "shortlie after he was putt of his Aldermannshipp and lived the remaynder of his life in great want and miserie and hatefull to all the Townesmen." Incidents thickened, until in 1596 we find, amongst many subjects of complaint drawn up by

stake. . . . Greene's farewell to the world, as reported by Gabriel Harvey, deserves no smaller fame. To his young wife, whom he had robbed, deserted, and betrayed, he wrote from his lowly host's garret, where young in years but old in iniquity, he lay dying: 'Doll, I charge thee, by the love of our youth and my soule's rest, that thou wilt see this man paide; for if hee and his wife had not succoured me, I had died in the streetes. Robert Greene.'"

Short lives of our two Robert Greenes (cf. also pp. 224-6) occurred in the College Magazines for the Lent and Easter terms of 1914 (vol. XIII, Nos 2 and 3).



## RUGGLE'S CLUB LAW

the Townsmen, an article, No. 31, relating an occurrence which has its counterpart in our play.

They have brought back againe with force, divers vessells laden with corne of sondrie persons lawfullie licenced by the justices, mysseusinge the corne with wetinge yt and dasshinge yt, and thrustinge a great deale thereof into the River, and without money will not suffer it to passe.

An accumulation of resentments had, in short, brewed a Town point of view which is curtly represented in this description by an 18th century resenter of the Colleges ("said booths") as being

a sort of alms-house, into which idle necessitous and cunning people for the most part obtained admittance or were placed to learn the art of supporting by an appearance of piety and science the popular and reigning superstitions and impositions of the age. . . . And here, by the by, good people of England, you need not, indeed you need not, be in the least alarmed at the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, of which so much has been said. We in Cambridge live and have lived under the suspension of it all our lives.

If this attitude is a little crude, its contrary, as represented in *Club Law*, is cruder. In its imperfect state, the MS. of the play opens with a scene in which Niphill or Niphle, a prospective Burgomaster of "Athens," makes, for an immoral consideration, a compact tending to their mutual advancement with a Welshman called Tavie, one of three sergeants attending on the regnant Burgomaster. The latter, coming on the scene, is "hitt" upon the head by an "aple" hurled by Cricket, a boy undergraduate. "The mischievous genius of the piece, with something of the character of the Vice in the Moralities. . . . Spoiling for a fight, chafing at being treated as a boy, equal to all occasions, good natured when approached with sufficient humility, he gives life to the whole play," is Dr Moore Smith's epitome of this *persona*.

Cricket, chased into College, regrets that "the Welch rogue" had not followed him into the hall (*sc.* College) "that wee might but had the villaine to the pump." Musonius and Philenius, two rather tedious young graduates, discuss the situation as related by Cricket, the former holding the only remedy is to "renewe the ancient Club-Lawe," the *argumentum baculinum*, the latter that they should worm their enemies' counsels from their impressionable wives. The election of a Burgomaster follows. Niphle is successful, and incites the citizens against "those stifnecked students," but Tavie, decoyed by a Cricketing ruse, instead of finding himself in the place of honour at the Mayoral banquet is lured into "our lodging" (i.e. College) and beaten. Municipal statesmanship decides that Mr Colby forestall the market and deprive the University of its supply of corn—and that the "Athenians" "have their own Club-Lawe."

Both plots, however, are discovered. The wives of Colby and Niphle inform Philenius and Musonius that next day at a cudgel-play "all the yong lads in the

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Towne intend to make them feel Club Lawe,” while Cricket hears that Colby intends, that night, to carry corn off under a load of coals. He tells Philenius and Musonius, who, armed with a writ of attachment from Mr Rector (*sc.* the Vice-Chancellor), wait to intercept the operation. It is at this point, in a soliloquy by Cricket to end Act ii, that our first facsimile opens, continuing into Act iii, in which the irrepressible youth, after a bored soliloquy, “fills up time by tying a rope to Mr Burgomaster’s door, calling murder,” and beating Mr B. and his three sergeants when they rush out and crash over the rope (Plate II).

Our second extract from Act iii, scs. 7 and 8, follows closely. Cricket has overheard Niphle arranging with Tavie to visit the latter’s house for an immoral purpose at midnight, the password to be “I burn.” Using this verbal key, Cricket fells Tavie when he opens to him, and Niphle gains access to the house with difficulty. At this juncture, Musonius and Philenius return from the undoing of Colby and his colliers, and with a writ of search from “the Rector.” They demand admission into Tavie’s house, and Niphle is forced to seek refuge in a tub “in which a poor beggar wench, as it happens, has already taken shelter.” In spite of his dignified opportunism (“I hope you found me doeing no ill, but executing my office. Are we not straightly charged to looke to vagabonds and beggars?”) he is hustled off to jail (Plate III).

So much for comment on the facsimiles. We need hardly relate the rest of the jejune plot which, worthier of Cricket than of Ruggle, was no doubt intentionally crudified. A general affray ensues, but Mrs Colby has sneaked once more, and Musonius has been able to get at and rifle the urban armoury of staves in Colby’s storehouse. The townsmen, worsted, are next discommuned, and in the end are forced to an abject submission. Cricket promises to have Tavie made “under-skinker” at the buttery, and recites the epilogue, in which the audience is begged not to be “so severe Censurers, as to thinke in such a subject, wee can observe Commike rules, neither was it our author’s intent. ffavour our silly stage fraught with well meaning and yong Actors,” etc.

Our reaction to this hardy stuff, we may in conclusion remark, becomes more compelling if we give it, *via* Dr Moore Smith’s introduction, a maximum actuality. Identifications gather to suggest the mayoral year of John Yaxley, 1599–1600, as that in which *Club Law* was performed. Of Niphle, the play tells us “his father was a baker, he brought him up pretelie to his booke, hee is a pretie petifogging Lawyer . . . hel’e drawe bloud of theise gentle Athenians.” This squares with what we know of Yaxley, whose hostility to the University was extreme. The tub-impasse in Tavie’s house may refer, however, to an article of complaint arising from another Mayoralty, in 1596:

*Item* the Maior going out to repressse misdemeanors offered by divers younge men of the Universitie



## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: DRAMATIC

and to see the Quenes peace keptt was assalted and evel intreated by three or fower Schollers, and his gowne rent and spoiled, and some used lewde speeches to the Maior and he putt in danger of his lyf.

Yaxley, incidentally, founded an almshouse at Waterbeach for six poor widows.

Amongst other realistic glimpses into life at Cambridge in the 1590's we see a Tutor wearing a dagger:

Actus 3<sup>us</sup> Scena 6<sup>a</sup> *Cricket*. See now how I am for theise hoyden Athenians iffaieth now I have the same Scottish dagger, I nimbd it the fineliest you would not thinke, I cutt it from my Tutor's side as he was leaning on his window lookinge on a booke.

In Act ii, sc. 2, also, the Burgomaster's proposal that the "gentle Athenians" be brought to marry the daughters of townsmen ("wee have a great many of prettie smugg girles in the towne") reminds us that the University in articles of grievance laid before Sir Robert Cecil, etc., in 1600, complained that townsfolk drew students into clandestine marriages: "3. Pupillos nostros ad clandestinos contractus et dispar conjugium in aedibus suis pelliciunt," etc.

Between Ruggle and our next playwrights a period of nearly a century and a half elapses, and we must stride an interval that brings us to the height of the neo-Augustan age of Pope and Garrick, when small comedy and stale tragedy bespeak an age of adjustment rather than of reaction or transition, and short-lived plays were so abundant that it was almost as necessary for a man of taste to have concocted one as to have trifled with the manufacture of heroic (!) couplets. So John, Lord Hervey of Ickworth (admitted to Clare just after Thomas Pelham in 1713) is reputed to have been survived, in manuscript, by *Agrippina, a Tragedy in Rhyme*, and the appalling Dr Dodd, of whom hereafter, wrote a comedy called *Sir Roger de Coverley*, which, with his usual vulgar gaucherie, he was attempting to get published from Newgate itself, during the harrowing weeks that preceded his execution. Even John Penn, grandson of the more famous William, went "modish" enough to publish *Letters on the Drama* (London, 1796) and his twice republished play, *The Battle of Eddington or British Liberty*, was performed at Windsor, Covent Garden and the Haymarket in 1824, and at Sadler's Wells in 1832. Whitehead, our Laureate, also wrote tragedies—*The Roman Father*, with a star part for Garrick, in 1750, and *Creusa, Queen of Athens*, a rehandling of Euripides' *Ion*, first acted in 1754, and meriting the high praises of Horace Walpole and of Mason, friend of the poet Gray. Professor Nettleton, in *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (vol. x, p. 86), holds that the classical cause as represented in Johnson's *Irene* (1749) "received a new impetus of some importance from *The Roman Father*," its success reviving the interest that had lain dormant for a score of years. The play remained a stock one throughout the rest of the century. Whitehead also wrote, in 1769-70, *A Trip to Scotland*, "which

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may be described as a farce, ending like an extravaganza," and a comedy, *The School for Lovers* (1762), "which has been erroneously supposed to belong to the species called sentimental comedy." According to A. W. W.<sup>1</sup>:

"The life of the play is to be found in the characters of Araminta and Modely, which are genuinely comic, while the former is also unmistakably attractive. The success of this play (revived in 1775 and 1794) seems to have increased Garrick's confidence in Whitehead, who in the following years officiated as his reader of plays—much to the disgust—according to Goldsmith's biographer, Forster, of Goldsmith, when Whitehead became arbitrator of the destinies of *The Goodnatured Man*," about the production of which Garrick was in doubt. "Of all the manager's slights to the poet," writes Forster, this was "forgotten last."

With Whitehead, however, whose regular biography we may here best take up, we turn from poetic Drama to other forms of poetry, but not without referring our readers—back in time, and elsewhere in this book—to the poetical proficiency, though rather in the estimation than in the creation of poetry, of Barnabas Oley and Nicholas Ferrar. The following lines by Oley, "conceited" in the manner of the age of Donne, were prefixed, with other "Recommendatory Verses" by Bishop Gunning and Richard Crashaw, the poet, to a translation by Nicholas Ferrar of Lessing's *Hagiosticon* and Cornaro on the subject of Temperance, and were reprinted on the opening page of J. E. B. Mayor's edition of John Ferrar's and Dr Jebb's *Two Lives* (of Nicholas):

Methinks I could be intemperate in thy praise,  
Feast thee with forced words and sugared lays;  
But that thy prose, my verse, do both command  
Me to keep measure, and take off my hand.  
There's gluttony in words; the mouth may sin  
In giving out as well as taking in.

But to our Laureate. William Whitehead (1715–85, and Poet Laureate from 1757 till his death) was born at Cambridge, his father being baker to Pembroke Hall. His two sons were liberally educated by this man, in spite of spendthrift inclinations which caused him to ornamental extravaganzas at Grantchester which, long known as "Whitehead's Folly," we would fain identify with the Gothic ruin at the bottom of the Old Vicarage garden. Educated at Winchester, our William, not elected to proceed to New College, came to Clare as sizar instead, having secured the small but opportune "Pyke" scholarship, open to the orphan sons of tradesmen of Cambridge. B.A. in 1739, he was elected to a Fellowship at Clare in 1742, his "irreproachable conduct, amiable manners, and growing reputation as a poet having secured to him at Cambridge the friendship of many young men of a rank superior to his own, conspicuous among whom was Charles Townshend, to whom two of his early poems are addressed." In his lines "On Friendship," justly praised by his biographer and according to him "highly commended by Craig, Whitehead softened

<sup>1</sup> In *Dictionary of National Biography*



## WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, POET LAUREATE

what the latter disliked as satirical touches; but though he was through life more or less dependent on his social superiors, his nature was not servile and his lack of ambition was largely due to self-knowledge."

Thus reassured from the article by A. W. W[ard] in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, we may pass with Whitehead from Cambridge to London, to which, in 1745, he repaired to act as tutor to the Earl of Jersey's little boy of seven.

Whitehead had already composed, while at Clare in 1741, his innocuous epistle *On the Danger of writing in Verse*, whose elegance and modesty of tone—"two merits which are rarely absent in Whitehead"—are remarked by Ward. By 1743, other works had followed, one of them an "heroic epistle" from Anne Boleyn to Henry the Eighth, "the reverse of original in treatment, but delicate in feeling," another a readable didactic essay on "Ridicule." The Tragedies followed, then a burlesque, a parody, and a series of tales "something in the manner of Prior, but more nearly perhaps in that of La Fontaine, which possess decided merit"—one of them "playfully discussing the question of equality between the sexes."

From 1754-6, Whitehead was abroad with his pupils Lord Villiers and Lord Nuneham. The Duke of Newcastle, meanwhile, was exerting patronage which led, in 1757, on the death of Colley Cibber, to the Laureateship, which had been previously refused by Gray. So far, Whitehead's name had been associated with an agreeable variety of miscellaneous verse, "in form remarkably versatile . . . and it would have been fortunate for his posthumous fame had he not been called to put a pretentious top to so unpretending an edifice." For a quarter of a century Birthday Odes and other royalist effusions were not to be escaped, much less the scathing remarks which greeted them. Johnson, for instance, contrasting Cibber's efforts with Whitehead's, preferred the former on the grounds that "grand nonsense is insupportable." Churchill hailed the Laureate as "Dulness and Method's darling Son." Whitehead made but one public reply, in the humorous form of a charge from the Laureate to his "brother poets" good-humouredly defending his position. For private circulation among friends he also wrote *A Pathetic Apology for all Laureates*, past, present and to come, in which he "put the matter still more plainly," and with the same modest bonhomie. There can be no doubt that he was a very pleasant person, as his almost constant residence, in town or country, with the families of Villiers and Harcourt suggests. Some lines by him on the gardener at Nuneham Harcourt are still to be seen, we believe, in the grounds there, as well as an inscription in the park "near this tree Whitehead used to recline," or some such. In 1774 he collected his works in two volumes, and a complete edition of his poems was published at York, with a memoir by his friend Mason, in 1788.

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

Whitehead was the perpetual butt of the satire of Churchill who, as Campbell says, "completely killed his poetical character." "Yet here and there he emerges," Mr T. H. Ward considers, "from the ruck of Georgian poetasters."

*Variety, a Tale for Married People*, is an excellent story in verse—with a moral of course, as a *conte* should have—told in a light and flowing style not unworthy of Gay. *The Enthusiast, an Ode* is here<sup>1</sup> given, because of the admirable way in which it epitomises the debate—it is a perennial debate, but the 18th century took one side and we take the other—between Nature and Society.

To turn from Whitehead to his contemporary, William Dodd, is to invite a most illuminating contrast between ideally seemly and idiotically unseemly behaviour in a *monde* to which neither individual was born. Dodd may not have been the worst, but he was certainly the most disgusting, clergyman who ever disgraced the Church of England, in an age when the English compromise between spirit and State became associated with adjustments that seemed to *aim* at debasement instead of at felicity. Dodd supplies, indeed, the extreme contrary to any wholesome conception of an *alumnus*, and when we reflect on the sacred avocation upon which the chute of his rake-hell progress was constructed, we can condone the "quotation from memory" (to use the sly phrase of Samuel Butler):

God moves in a mysterious way  
His bounders to perform.

His vivacious biographer, Percy Fitzgerald<sup>2</sup>, grants, at the outset, that Dodd was "for many good reasons wholly unworthy of regular biographical treatment," but for these very reasons he makes an ideal nucleus round which we may observe to fester the diseases of a dissolute epoch. For the life of Dr William Dodd presents a truly dreadful picture, in an atmosphere of unwincing self-deception, of those undermining vices of conscience to which no man cares to own; and the most ruthless caricature could not convey a more drastic warning than the plain portrayal, here, of actuality. Here we see weak self-indulgence in the sensuous, the mawkish, and the cheaply sensational combining to displace the censors of will and conscience by a self-condoning flunkey blend of sentimentality and of rhetoric. The disgusting aspects of weak morale could not be more revealingly impressed. It is, in fact, as an anti-exemplar that we now introduce the Rev. Dr William Dodd.

Son of the vicar of Bourne, in Lincolnshire, William Dodd matriculated sizar of Clare at the early age of 16, in March 1746, just as "the '45" was drawing to its bitter close at Culloden. A contemporary at Clare was Parkhurst, later well known for his "Lexicon." Dodd was diligent and slick, and soon came away with several printed *Juvenilia*—the earliest of 55 eventual works, and in bad taste from the

<sup>1</sup> *The English Poets*, vol. III (Macmillan). *Variety* is to be found in Chambers' *Encyclopaedia*.

<sup>2</sup> *A Famous Forgery, being the story of "the unfortunate Doctor Dodd"* (Chapman and Hall, 1865).



## DOCTOR DODD

first. The most interesting of these was a blank verse protest, giving a graphic picture of local manners, at the dullness of Cambridge in vacation (his father was doubtless too poor to fetch him back to Bourne).

"He helps us to see," writes Fitzgerald, "the deserted courts, with their smoke stained windows, which, in term time, were peopled with crowds of heads covered with caps of coloured velvet, calling loudly for the barbers, who were flying across the quadrangles. We see 'the lean fellows,' and the 'jolly jips,' the old bedmakers, and the refectory tables covered with black cloth. Young Dodd would seem to have been the only one of his college left to take 'commons' in hall, and had to rise to do homage to a fellow. . . . The Trencher off which he had to dine was a square piece of board 'never scraped and sometimes washed.'"

An "ardent votary" of expensive dress and of "the god of dancing," Dodd was in 1749 one of the last fortunate batch of wranglers (the first twelve of every year) whose privilege it was to choose a squire and go round the town asking a kiss from each young girl. "The year 1750 will be remembered with grief," he wrote, "by every Cambridge virgin and future wrangler."

Our hero now flung himself on London "with a dangerous avidity" and with another satire, *A Day in College at Vacation*. In his importunity to secure promotion, words, pouring from his pen, contrived a sufficiency of form to cut a dash as "Works," and although, upon taking orders, "he foreswore the belles lettres finally"<sup>1</sup>—that is for nearly a year—Dodd soon "relapsed into Literature" with a loose novel, *The Sisters*, which only the free temper of such an age could tolerate. The names of the characters are those of real persons read backwards, and by an acid irony, the first of many which haunt his career, Dodd's villain, Dookalb (a Mr Blackwood, upon whom, it seems, he wished to retaliate) was made to suffer on the gallows "in the most abject and pusillanimous manner." Classical "works," however, embellished his clerical *arrivisme*, and his *Callimachus*, with a splendid list of names "prancing before it," was dedicated as a more direct means of promotion to the Duke of Newcastle<sup>2</sup>. It was probably through Newcastle that Dodd soon became a royal chaplain, but his "spreading of adulation was with so broad a trowel" and "his shades of compliment were so *fade*" that Society, and this patron, soon sickened at so much deliciousness, and Dodd was driven to cultivate a City in place of a Mayfair popularity.

But this was after he had taken up costly residence in London itself. West Ham, at first, exercised some pseudo-pastoral mitigation on his unholy flair:

Dear were thy shades, O, Ham! and dear,

\* \* \* \*

O, Epping . . .

<sup>1</sup> " . . . but the success he hoped for did not attend his pieces, and therefore, as the last resource, he entered into *Holy Orders*." *Authentic Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> "'Tis certain that he had an equal foundation for his hopes with the rest of his brethren; for the Duke had squeezed his hand, professed an high esteem for him, and promised to be his friend." *Ibid*.

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

and so on. But even there what must be called the best of his life is a study in the unhealthy sentimentalism which so often accompanies a lack of resolution, and if what must pass for his spirit was calmer there, it was with an oily euphuism that the storm was laid. At "Ham," however, he did produce his most famous and least indefensible works—*Dodd's Beauties of Shakespeare* (the work through which Goethe got to know his Shakespeare!) and *Dodd on Death*<sup>1</sup>—this latter designed, the preface informs us, "to be given away by *well-disposed persons at funerals* or on other solemn occasion." He was soon getting notice "as one of those dramatic clergymen who in every age attract a certain amount of attention and admiration," and nowhere more than at the chapel of an asylum, a sort of theatrical charity for fallen women, known as "The Magdalen."<sup>2</sup> The manner and effect there of Dodd's pulpit rhapsodising is best recorded in one of the best passages in the *Letters* of Horace Walpole (27 January 1760), who was a member of one of the fashionable parties which used to visit the place for services in a spirit of flippant or of morbid curiosity. In an ode composed on one of the occasions, Dodd himself described these affairs as "pious orgies," but no doubt he laid the emphasis on "pious." It was ten years, however, before a Scottish minister "with great warmth condemned the whole institution."

A similar fulsome publicity characterised Dodd's utterances about his parents, his wife, and even his favourite seaside resort. Here his biographer breaks into such explosive verbal agglomerations as "pharisaical affectation of pious domesticity," "ostentatious blazoning of filial virtues," and "he ventilated his partiality for Margate with the same offensive ostentation." At Margate he was, *par excellence*, "the charming and diverting clergyman who put the little incidents in such a comic point of view, but who, every now and again, jumbled up some piety with his jocularity"—"this jumble of gallantry and spirituality having long been the conventional equipment of such persons." In one of many "happy" *vers d'occasion*, a lady's eyes are complimented because

She keeps them modestly at home  
Nor lets their pointed ogles roam,

but the collocation of two other quotations is more profoundly revelatory. His

<sup>1</sup> A copy of *Dodd's Reflections on Death* was presented to the College Library by Dr J. Rendel Harris in 1878. There is also in ms. his translation of the *Odes of Pindar*, and the 3rd edition, with gruesome woodcut frontispiece, of the little *Authentic Memoirs* pamphlet issued no doubt to catch the market immediately after his execution.

<sup>2</sup> He was not immediately successful in ousting his predecessor, though "he so far brought about the *Governors*, that a Resolution was taken, that the *Hospital Preacher* should either *marry* or *resign*; it being thought dangerous to admit a fingle man amongst a number of handsome girls, who were too liable of themselves to give way to improper conversation. The Chaplain was far from being a pleasing figure, and hence it was presumed he would find it difficult to get into the matrimonial noose; he was poor" too, etc. However he did, in desperation, marry, and kept our hero out for more than a twelvemonth. *Authentic Memoirs*.



## DOCTOR DODD

own extraordinary regard for benevolence so “fills his mind that it is as if *tenderness of heart*, and acts of charity, could atone for every other deficiency.” Such specious self-condoning was growing upon him, and indicates the real field of reference in which this West Ham aphorism would pasture—

How much one good, well-natured deed  
Exhilarates the mind.

The general atmosphere of “clergymanical dandyism” was thickening, and with his erection in Pimlico of a fashionable Chapel of Ease<sup>1</sup>, profitably close to the royal palace, and called in compliment to the reigning Queen, Charlotte Chapel, the cup of his spirit was champagne-full—and he began to be known as the “Macaroni Parson.” There he might be found preaching, with a bouquet in one hand and a diamond ring scintillating from a finger on the other, the “Anniversary Sermon,” for instance, “of the Society for the Recovery of Drowned Persons”; or, buoyed on undulant unctuousness, would remonstrate with the ungodly as he had done with the author of *Tristram Shandy*, who, so *dispar* in similarity, had been at Cambridge only a few years earlier than Dodd. Never was the complacent self-delusion induced by a habit of hypocrisy more crudely exhibited than in Dodd’s lines to Sterne. The latter is assured

Tho’ some may laugh none love the loose buffoon,

and that

The time will come when you with me shall join,  
To bless the blasting of each putrid line. . .

till this “pious orgy” culminates in the apostrophe—

Ah! you have talents,—do not misapply,  
Ah! you have time—seize, seize it, ere it fly;  
Strait seize it, for too short you needs must own  
Whate’er of life remaineth to atone  
For all the filth diffused, and evil you have done.

This from one who was “notoriously immersed in London’s vilest seductions” . . . .

“Though both men were shipwrecked by their extravagant craving for society and amusement,” Fitzgerald need hardly point out to us “one was a pure hypocrite, and what was worse, found his profit in his hypocrisy,” while “Sterne would have scorned that sanctimonious trade. We know no ‘dirty action’ of his, and though often hard-pressed for money, he would never have dreamed of so dirty an action as a forgery.”

If both men were “flash,” Dodd’s flashpoint was very low.

But we have uttered, at last, the word for a deed without which this miserable specimen of humankind would doubtless have passed from a *bed* of death into oblivion.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. “The hackneyed and deceitful scheme of *Chapel-building*. . . .” *Authentic Memoirs*.

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Forgery! "The very word is like a bell"—knell, rather—to toll Dodd back from Sterne to his sole self. Gradually the furies of luxury and ostentation and "other familiars of gay life" were preying on his weak and unfortified nature, and as the result of a corrupt and anonymous attempt to secure the rich living of St George's, Hanover Square, and the shabby subterfuge by which he tried to throw the odium on "the officious zeal of my consort," he became the special butt of one of the stream of pungent farces which Foote, the actor, was releasing upon the town.

MRS SIMONY. . . . But then his wig, madam! I am sure you must admire his dear wig; not with the bushy brown buckles hanging and dropping like a Newfoundland spaniel, but short, *rounded off* at the ear to show his plump cherry cheeks, white as a curd, feather-topped, and the curls as close as a cauliflower.

MRS F. Why really, madam—

MRS SIMONY. Then my Doctor is none of your schismatics, madam; believes in the whole thirty-nine, and so he would if there were nine times as many. . . . why he is constantly *asked to the great city Feasts*, and does, I verily believe, more indoor christening than any three of the cloth—

—which last form of proficiency reminds us of the priest in Pirandello's *Pleasures of Honesty*.

Even Cowper had a go at him, and Dodd was already, long before 1777, the tattle (the age hardly rose to scandal) of the town. In that fateful year "the unsoundness which may be traced through all the pattern of his life" culminated in an act of forgery, involving his old pupil, Stanhope, now become Earl of Chesterfield—and punishable, by a law made only fifty years before, by death. Only five years before he had preached a sermon *On the Frequency of Capital Punishment*, in which in a curious passage he seemed to anticipate his own crisis and to plead pathetically for himself. All his pleadings and, what dignified his doom, those of Dr Johnson, whose voluntary and noble intervention was worthy of that great man<sup>1</sup>, were needed now.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Papers written by Dr Johnson and Dr Dodd in 1777*. . . . ed. R. W. Chapman, with ten collotype facsimiles (Clarendon Press, 1926).

"Nothing in Johnson's history is more characteristic than his efforts to save the life of a canting swindler, to whose true character he was never blind; and few, if any, of his occasional writings furnish better examples than these of the width of his humanity or the power of his eloquence." *The Periodical*, vol. XII. No. 138.

Johnson's final letter so pregnantly bears out this judgment that we cannot refrain from giving it here *in toto*:

"Johnson to Allen. Autograph, two leaves 4°. No address. Inscribed 'This may be communicated to Dr Dodd.'

Sir

You know that my attention to Dr Dodd has incited me to enquire what is the real purpose of Government; the dreadful answer ['there is not the smallest Chance of even a Respite'] I have put into your hands.

Nothing now remains but that he whose profession it has been to teach others to dye, learn now to dye himself.

It will be wise to deny admission from this time to all who do not come to sift his preparation; to addict himself wholly to prayer and meditation, and consider himself as no longer connected with the world. He has now nothing to do for the short time that remains, but to reconcile himself to God. To this end it will be proper to abstain totally from all strong liquors, and from all other sensual indulgences, that his thoughts may be as clear and calm as his condition can allow.

If his remissions of anguish, and intervals of devotion leave him any time, he may perhaps spend it profitably



## DOCTOR DODD AND JOHN, LORD HERVEY

Lack of space forbids us to set down here the circumstances of Dodd's crime, of the unhappy chances that dragged it into the open, and so to arraignment and to the course of law, with its goal, the gallows. For months this *cause célèbre* pre-occupied the nation, but the influence of monster petitions, of the City, of Methodism, of Dr Johnson himself, were unavailing against the obduracy of Lord Mansfield (who shared with the King a theory that the people were becoming dangerous and must be held in check), and against "the old, stupid, mulish British complacency, which has so often fancied itself doing something spartan and splendid when it is only cruel and ridiculous, and which, as Lord Macaulay has shown, must have its recurring fits of morality, and calls for a victim, now and again, to waken up its slumbering complacency."

Even in prison, and between fits of anguish, Dodd was the grotesquely effusive man of letters—in short, his own old sanctimoniously weltering self; and even in the last hours, when tragedy had won the field from serio-farce, the execution scene, like all Dodd's writing, was punctuated with almost hideous unintentional burlesque. Just before the procession arrived at Tyburn "a sow got into the enclosed space, and was baited after the usual fashion, its distress causing roars of laughter in the crowd." The great flapped hat which concealed the victim's corpse-like face was blown off, and later, when taken off before the act of execution, came away with his wig as well. Finally, arrangements designed to favour artificial recovery miscarried, and the humiliating drama was complete. So perished "the unfortunate Dr Dodd," the only Clare man we know to have been hanged, and at much the same time as Daniel Dulany the younger, the only Clare man we know to have lost his life through that other lethal anachronism of the eighteenth century, the duel.

We may turn to John, Lord Hervey, an *alumnus* who also fought—and came near to perishing in—a duel, and upon whom also we cannot unreservedly congratulate ourselves.

The Hon. John Hervey was the eldest of the seventeen children of John, first Earl of Bristol, by his second wife. The younger John was himself to have eight in writing the history of his own depravation, and marking the gradual declination from innocence and quiet, to that state in which the law has found him. Of his advice to the Clergy or admonitions to Fathers of families there is no need; he will leave behind him those who can write them. But the history of his own mind, if not written by himself, cannot be written, and the instruction that might be derived from it must be lost. This therefore he must leave, if he leaves any thing; but whether he can find leisure, or obtain tranquillity sufficient for this, I cannot judge. Let him however shut his doors against all hope, all trifles, and all sensuality. Let him endeavour to calm his thoughts by abstinence, and look out for a proper director in his penitence, and may God who would that all men should be saved, help him with his Holy Spirit, and have mercy on him for Jesus Christ's sake.

June 17  
1777

I am Sir  
Your most humble servant  
Sam: Johnson"

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children, his three sons all becoming successively Earls of Bristol, the last of them, "the strangest yet cleverest of a strange yet clever family," being the famous Frederick Augustus, Bishop of Derry. On the death of his half-brother, Carr, Lord Hervey (who is said to have been the real father of Horace Walpole, and who was also at Clare, at the same time as Thomas Pelham), John became, in 1723, Baron Hervey of Ickworth.

Educated at Westminster, John Hervey had been admitted to Clare Hall just after Pelham in Nov. 1713. M.A. in 1715, he went abroad next year, and on his return spent much of his time at Ickworth, in spite of paternal remonstrance, in "the perpetual pursuit of poetry." He was returned for Bury in 1725 and joined Pulteney in opposition to Walpole, but finally threw in his lot with the latter in 1730, and was rewarded with Household office. The breach with Pulteney culminated in most offensive public references to Hervey, followed by a duel. Both men were slightly wounded, but only a slip of Pulteney's foot and the intervention of their seconds saved Hervey from being run through the body. Hervey's influence over the Queen was invaluable to Walpole, who by it was able to govern the King at a remove. Between Hervey and Newcastle there was no love lost, but the latter could not prevent his being appointed Lord Privy Seal in 1740. The spring session of 1743 was enriched by his spirited opposition to the Gin Bill, but like his rival, Pope, Hervey suffered from chronic ill health (which his father attributed to the use of "that detestable and poisonous plant, tea"), and with the rapid failure of what health he had, Hervey died before the autumn session (1743).

Like Charles Townshend, Hervey was vivacious, witty, and unprincipled, but his power was rather over women than men, and he was himself effeminate both in appearance and in habits. Gay, in his verses welcoming Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, hails him—"Now Hervey, fair of face . . ." but the Duchess of Marlborough's version was "a painted face and not a tooth in his head," and Pope described him and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu as having "faces so finished that neither sickness nor passion can deprive them of colour." It is with these last two mentioned names that Hervey is chiefly, and notoriously, remembered. His political pamphlets were held by Horace Walpole to be "equal to any that ever were written" (one, on "the Difference between Verbal and Practical Virtue" might well have been pondered by Dr Dodd), and his *Memoirs of the Reign of George II from his accession to the death of Queen Caroline* give such "close and minute portraiture of court life and intrigue" as to render them "indispensable to the student of the first ten years of George II." Yet "though they bear in many ways a curious resemblance to those of Horace Walpole, a bitter tone of cynicism and a morbid spirit



## JOHN, LORD HERVEY OF ICKWORTH

of universal detraction are always apparent" and so they too only serve to spice his indelible notoriety as "Sporus." So far, our eighteenth century versifiers have not deserved to escape the wholesale verdict on their epoch's *genre* in verse, that it "expresses with insufferable complacency the urbanity of a world un-naturally simplified." We come now to an occasion when several seemingly taut complacencies broke out of all but prosodic restraints, and pierced the sleek barrage of the urbane with vitriolic fury.

The venom which transmuted the dissolute character of Hervey into the poisonous figure of "Sporus" was brewed as follows. The famous Lady Mary Wortley Montagu from the closest friendship had incurred the deepest enmity of Pope—wounded, it is said, by the immoderate laughter with which she had received a proposal on his part (whether mock or serious will never be known) of marriage. Pope brooded over his resentment, and in the first of his imitations of Horace, published, years afterwards, in 1733, "threw filth at random," as Leslie Stephen puts it—in a couplet, especially, too gross for quotation—upon the character, unmistakably that of Lady Mary, of "Sappho."

In the same poem occurred a comparatively harmless couplet, by which, however, Lord Hervey was aggrieved—

"The lines are weak," another's pleased to say  
"Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a day."

Hervey and Lady Mary ("certainly the top wits of the court," as Pope now apprehensively wrote to Swift), being already on friendly terms, forthwith drew close in smarting amity to concoct an equally unpardonable lampoon on Pope, who was stung with insults to his birth and figure. The personal deformities of his "wretched little carcase" are the only cause of his being "unwhipt, unblanketed, unkick'd."

Thine is just such an image of his [Horace's] pen  
As thou thyself art of the sons of men . . .  
Whilst none thy crabbed numbers can endure,  
Hard as thy heart and as thy birth obscure.

Not content with his half-share in these *Verses to the Imitator of Horace*, Hervey pursued his quarry in a couplet *Letter from a Nobleman*, etc., to which Pope wrote a prose reply in a *Letter to a Noble Lord*, not printed in his lifetime, while telling Swift: "There is a woman's war declared against me by a certain Lord. His weapons are the same which women and children use: a pin to scratch and a squirt to bespatter."

Meanwhile the Laureate's spleen was brewing the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, published in 1735. Only the babbling blockhead need fear his lash, Pope says:

Who tells whate'er you think, whate'er you say  
And if he lie not must at least betray.

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Such an one is Sporus [Lord Hervey]<sup>1</sup>, at the mention of whose name Arbuthnot is supposed to intervene and protest against satire being wasted on

That thing of silk,  
That mere white curd of asses' milk,

a protest which prompts the famous lines, beginning

Yet let me flap this bug with gilded wings,  
This painted child of dirt, that stinks and stings,

and ending

Beauty that shocks you, parts that none will trust,  
Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust.

No witchcraft of wax imagery cruelly stuck with pins was ever more successful. Pope seems, writes Stephen, "to be actually screaming with malignant fury." "Sporus" is an extreme example, and a supreme achievement, of literary *schadenfreude*, and its vitriol has disfigured the mind's mask of Hervey for ever and a day. The picture was doubtless over-acrid, and should not be allowed unduly to colour the anonymous witticism, not made in this connection, that "the world was composed of men, women and Herveys."

Our likeness is after the decorative full-length portrait by Van Loo in the National Portrait Gallery, and its subject is looking upon one candlestick of our finest pair of candlesticks, the present, in 1710, of his half-brother, Carr (Plate IV). John Hervey married, in 1720, the beautiful and sprightly Molly Lepel, whose praises were sung by Pope and Gay, and even, in the only English verses now extant of his compositions<sup>2</sup>, by Voltaire. Chesterfield extolled her for her breeding and knowledge, saying she knew more than is necessary for any woman, "for she understands Latin perfectly well, though she wisely conceals it." With her husband and four of her family she figures in a fine group, by Zoffany, at Ickworth<sup>3</sup>, where there is also a Zoffanyesque group by Hogarth<sup>3</sup>, depicting Hervey and five male friends.

After a memoir-writer so often referred to by Horace Walpole, it is natural to take the latter's most copious correspondent, Sir Horace Mann (1701-86).

Second son of a London merchant (who "managed to die," as T. S. puts it in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "a fully qualified country squire," at Linton in Kent), Mann was a student at Clare *circa* 1720, being a contemporary and friend of William Allen of Philadelphia, who was admitted pensioner Sept. 1720 (cf. W. Allen's *Letter Book* by L. B. Walker, 1897).

<sup>1</sup> *Mr Pope* by George Paston, vol. II. (Hutchinson.)

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> These pictures are reproduced in the second of two excellent articles on Ickworth which appeared in *Country Life*, Oct. 31 and Nov. 7, 1925.



## SIR HORACE MANN

His sister Catherine married the Hon. and Rev. James Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield.

Mann was not, as has so often been asserted, connected by kinship with Horace Walpole, but, being intimate with him in youth, was advanced by Sir Robert, in 1737, to the post of assistant to Mr Fane, envoy extraordinary, etc., to the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence. For three years Mann "assiduously did the work of Fane, an indolent and most particular person, who is described by Walpole as taking to his bed for six weeks in consequence of the Duke of Newcastle's omitting on one occasion the usual prefix 'very' to 'your humble servant' in signing one of his letters." Mann's reward came in 1740, when he succeeded Fane, and was, soon after, visited at the Casa Mannetti, near the Ponte di Trinità, by Horace Walpole. The poet Gray had shortly before stayed with Mann in Florence, and described him as "the best and most obliging person in the world," with a delightful house from the windows of which "we can fish in the Arno."

Politically, Mann's chief concern was to watch and to checkmate the intrigues of the Stuart Pretenders in Italy:

He certainly retails much gossip that is damaging [writes T. S.] to the character of the last Stuarts. On the death of the Old Pretender in 1766, Mann succeeded in bullying the pope into suppressing the titles of his successor at Rome, Count Albani, the Young Pretender, whose habitual drunkenness neutralised any political importance that he might have had.

"Prince Charlie" came to reside in Florence in 1775, from which date onwards the British envoy's letters are

full of disagreeable descriptions of his complicated disorders. In 1783, the Chevalier dining at the table of the King of Sweden, . . . gave Sir Horace a start by narrating the circumstances of his visit to London in Sept., 1750 . . .

Minor duties were to receive and conciliate English visitors of distinction such as Bute, Garrick, Wilkes, Smollett, and Zoffany, who twice introduced his portrait into paintings. There were also the "numerous 'travelling boys,' whose aptitude to forget the deference due to the 'petty Italian Transparencies' often caused him much anxiety."

But it is as a stimulator of Horatian letters that Mann has chiefly earned our gratitude. After their year in Florence together, 1740-1, the Horaces were never to meet again, for the rest of Mann's life was entirely spent in Italy. But for forty-four years they corresponded "on a scale quite phenomenal," and, as Walpole himself remarked, "not to be paralleled in the history of the post-office":

The letter on both sides were avowedly written for publication, both parties making a point of the return of each other's despatches. The strain of such an artificial correspondence led to much melancholy posturing, but the letters on Walpole's side at least are among the best in the language. Their publication by Lord Dover in 1833 gave Macaulay his well-used opportunity of "dusting the jacket" . . . of the most consummate of virtuosos.

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

Mann's last letter to Walpole ("of a series amounting to thousands") was on 5 Sept. 1786. He died at Florence on 6 Nov., after 46 years as minister. He was buried in England, at Linton, and succeeded at Florence by John Augustus, Lord Hervey. He bequeathed to Walpole five pictures by Poussin, having previously purchased several paintings on commission for the Walpole galleries at Strawberry Hill and Houghton. His letters were also sent to Walpole.

At this point some mention may be made of an *alumnus* whose claims as a writer are second to his notoriety as an eccentric.

Dr Robert Greene was born at Tamworth about 1678, admitted 8 Oct. 1695, A.M. 1703, S.T.P. *Com. Reg.* 1728, and was a Fellow from 29 Oct. 1703 till his death in 1730.

He held strange views about gravity, denied the existence of vacuum, and maintained that the circle could be squared. The Newtonian system he thought to be subversive of religion, but his published *pensée*, *The Principles of Natural Philosophy, in which is shown the insufficiency of the present systems to give us any just account of that science* (1712), was ridiculed and parodied in *A Taste of Philosophical Fanaticism . . .* by a gentleman of the University of Gratz.

While taking an active part in college and parochial work [writes Alsager Vian, in the wittily curt biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography*] Greene "was convinced that the whole field of knowledge was his proper province, and devoted many years' leisure to the production of his next work, a large folio volume of 980 pages, entitled *The Principles of the Philosophy of the Expansive and Contractive Forces, or an Enquiry into the Principles of the Modern Philosophy, that is, into the several chief Rational Sciences which are extant*, 1727. In the preface . . . he declared his intention of proposing a philosophy English, Cantabrigian, and Clarensian, which he ventured to call the 'Greenian,' because his name was 'not much worse in the letters which belonged to it than those of Galileo and Descartes.' The book is a monument of ill-digested and misapplied learning."

Even his contemporaries regarded him as deranged (Wordsworth, *University Studies*, p. 69).

From Greene's will (see *Gentleman's Magazine*, LIII. 657, for 1783) we learn that he was the son of Mr Robert Greene, formerly a mercer in Tamworth, and Mary Pretty, of Fazeley, Warwickshire, his wife. In this document he directed that his body should be dissected, and all the fragments, except the bones, collected and buried in All Saints, Cambridge, where he had for three years officiated for Dr Grigg, Master of Clare, unless a new College chapel were built at Clare before his death, in which case he desired to be buried therein, as having been for many years the College Dean. His skeleton was to be placed next the "class" which he proposed to bequeath to the Library, and which was doubtless included in the goods and chattels left in his rooms and accepted by the College (see College order of 18 Oct. 1738). He also directed that a stone should be set up to his



## DR GREENE: THOMAS SEATON AND 'THE SEATONIAN'

memory in Clare Chapel (when built), in King's Chapel, in St Mary's Church, and in the north chancel of the church at Tamworth, "for each of which memorials he supplied a long and extravagant description of himself."

His house at Tamworth and £200 bank stock Greene left, after the death of certain relatives, to Clare. The interest was to be laid out in two silver plates or tankards, not exceeding £6 each, to be given to two Scholars, one for piety, the other for learning: the recipients were to receive them from the Master and the Society *on their knees*. If the bequest were refused by Clare, the offer was to be made successively to St John's, Trinity and Jesus Colleges, and, if all refused, to Sidney Sussex. In the Admission book, Dr Goddard has added a note that Greene died at Tamworth in Aug. 1730; but Richard Greene, a relative, states in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1783 that he died 16 Aug. 1730 at Birmingham, and was buried in St Mary's Church, Cambridge, and that his effects (as none of the Colleges had been prepared to comply with his injunctions) still remained in the possession of Sidney Sussex College, his nearest relatives having never thought proper to set up their claim. There is no record of his burial at Great St Mary's Church, Cambridge, and it is highly improbable that a body would in those days be conveyed so far.

In fact "none of Greene's wishes were complied with," as Vian curtly puts it, and we are reminded that where there's a will there is not always a way. His bequest, however, was finally accepted in 1742, and in 1747 six Scholarships were founded. Upon 17 Oct. 1764 a College order enacted that "his exhibitions of £6 each should be given to two such Scholars of the sophisters' (=4th) year as shall have sat for their B.A. degree . . . provided that each of the Scholars so approved of shall speak a Latin oration in the Hall, the one in praise of Religion, Christian Piety and Virtue; the other in praise of Learning."

Dr Greene had been presented to the vicarage of Everton, but at that time this could be held with a Fellowship. During what period he was Dean we do not know; but his tenure of that office is interesting. He directed that regularity of attendance in the College Chapel should be specially considered in awarding the cup for piety. Was the undergraduate of those days also remiss, and did the Dean think that this would encourage a better attendance?

Dr Greene's *skeleton* is familiar to all old Clare men. Difficulties being raised by his relatives, the College finally obtained permission to substitute another skeleton for that of the donor; it was at first kept over the Chapel in the old Library, and subsequently in 1763 (when the present Chapel was built) in the Library over the Hall. When that space was turned into undergraduates' rooms in 1818, it was stored in the cupboard at the head of the stairs; it was once or twice raided by undergraduates, and when the fire of Oct. 1890 destroyed much of that part of the College, the

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

skeleton was officially found to have disappeared. The "skeleton in the cupboard" is now a metaphorical one, but after the lapse of nearly two centuries there need be no apprehension that Dr Greene's legal representative (if such there be) could successfully claim that the conditions of the will were no longer observed.

Whitehead apart, "rakes and eccentrics" would most curtly describe Clare's literary *alumni* in the eighteenth century. They were, at any rate, either themselves not dull or not the cause of dullness in others. This cannot, alas, be said of the Rev. Mr Thomas Seaton, the founder of the annual Seatonian Prize for an English poem by a Master of Arts of Cambridge University. Born at Stamford in 1684, Seaton was admitted sizar of Clare Hall in 1701, became scholar of the College in 1704, and a Fellow in 1707. He resigned his Fellowship in 1721, having written "among other little things" a pamphlet against Whiston on the Eternity of the Son of God. This may be taken as premonitory to his famous bequest of his Kislingbury estate

to the University of Cambridge for ever: the rents of which shall be disposed of yearly by the Vice-Chancellor for the time being as he, the Vice-Chancellor and the Master of Clare Hall, and the Greek Professor for the time being, or any two of them, shall agree. Which three persons aforesaid shall give out a subject, which subject shall, for the first year be one or other of the Perfections or Attributes of the Supreme Being, and so the succeeding years, till the subject is exhausted, etc.

The first competition was in 1750, and the winner was then, and for the four succeeding years, the author of the subsequent, and gloriously eccentric, *Song to David*—Christopher Smart, of Pembroke Hall, who described his college in terms more applicable to the institution of the Seatonian as

This servile cell  
Where discipline and dullness dwell  
and where  
Scholastic pride  
Takes his precise pedantic stride.

In an essay on his poems in *Gossip in a Library*, Sir Edmund Gosse speaks of Smart as having "formed the habit<sup>1</sup> of winning the Seatonian Prize Poem"—and of a college order "That Mr S. be allowed to keep his name on the College books without any expense so long as he continues to write for the premium left by Mr Seaton."

Other eighteenth century *litterateurs* worth mention are John Langhorne (1759), Thomas Scott (1773), and James Cawthorn; the first two both entered as ten-year men, though Scott, to his regret, never completed his degree. Scott was well known as the editor of a commentary on the Bible; Langhorne's translation of Plutarch held the field for a century.

<sup>1</sup> More appropriately, Clare versifiers have also tended to form this habit. In vol. v, no. 2 (Lent Term, 1906) of the College Magazine it is recorded that "the Seatonian" had been gained by Clare men seven times during the last fourteen years, and more recently it was won on several occasions by the late Rev. J. F. Vaisey-Hope (or Schulhof).



## TOWNSEND AND SPAIN: LAWRENCE AND GARDENING

James Cawthorn (Headmaster of Tonbridge, 1743–61) was born at Sheffield, November 1719, and admitted 1738, but did not take a Cambridge degree. (Was he given the M.A. degree by the Archbishop of Canterbury?) A poem written by him at the age of sixteen was published in 1735, and a special feature of his Master-ship of Tonbridge was the dialogues which he wrote for Skinners' day, each year. Of these eight are published in Chalmers' *English Poets*.

Less academically literary are two clergymen, pleasant eccentrics, the Rev. John Lawrence and the Rev. Joseph Townsend, the latter a great traveller in Western Europe, and author especially of a popular *Journey through Spain*, which went into three editions and is liable to get him confused with "Spanish Townshend." Townsend graduated B.A. at Clare in 1762, and M.A. three years later. He wrote also on Plans for Poor Relief, *A Guide to Health*, and a two-volume *Character of Moses established*, which "shows him to have had," writes T. S. B. in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "a good knowledge of mineralogy and geology, though his firm persuasion of the literal accuracy of the Mosaic record was such as to expose him to attack." He possessed, also, a fine collection of minerals and fossils.

John Lawrence was the son of the rector of St Michael's, Stamford, and was admitted to Clare Hall in the accession year of James II, during the senior Fellowship of that out-and-out royalist and sensational preacher, Nathaniel Vincent. It was possible then to pass through the Cambridge course and to take a degree on what now seems an astonishingly small expenditure, and Whiston, Lawrence's chamber-fellow, tells us that, though he was a pensioner for the last half-year (having been till then a sizar) his own expenses for three years and a half, his first degree included, did not amount to £100.

Lawrence, like so many at that time and Whiston especially, was clearly unsatisfied with the then orthodox type of education, and fifteen years after he resigned his Fellowship we find him advocating, as so many are doing now, far-reaching changes.

"I question not," he writes, "but we might soon see a more virtuous and enlightened age, if it were but rescued from the intolerable trammels of logick and rhetorick, the aversion and bane of youth; and some of the easy parts of natural philosophy, practical mathematicks, and *gardening operations* substituted in their place."

It is as a literary enthusiast for the last of these that Lawrence may avoid the gulf of oblivion<sup>1</sup>. Gardening, indeed, with its stimulus to observe "the rational and

<sup>1</sup> He was also an ardent promoter of Broad Church interpretations of Christianity, though, of course, these are innocent of the problems of higher Biblical criticism, and make the plenary authority of the Scriptures the pivot upon which their arguments turn.

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

intelligible laws of nature," he looked on, clearly, also, as a relief from the "noli me tangeres" of vested orthodoxy, which will not "suffer private persons to doubt of or dispute so sacred a thing as a long tradition." The founder of the new school of thought in the Church to which Lawrence belonged was Dr Samuel Clarke, whose rejection of the Athanasian creed was perhaps derived from Newton. The doctrines of the "Clarkean" theologians were formulated in face of well-grounded fears of prosecution and imprisonment. Whiston<sup>1</sup>, for instance, who was prosecuted before the court of Delegates, tells us that in 1713 he was in the greatest danger of either being forced to banish himself or of suffering imprisonment for life (*Memoirs*, p. 539).

But gardening was a diversion, and a creative one, from theological embitterment, tending "very much to the ease and quiet of my own mind; and the retirement I find therein, by walking and meditating, has help'd to set forward many useful thoughts upon divine subjects." Of the union between these and more practical satisfactions *The Clergyman's Recreation* was born, with a shamefacedly modest apology which a lapse of twelve authoritative years was to transfigure into the self-made claim that he had been "the first and only writer in this last century who had revived the spirit of gardening and pretended [*sic*] to give" a better account "of the government of fruit trees, hitherto but imperfectly understood and therefore very darkly explained." Ii. 5. 60 in the College Library contains the fifth edition (London, 1717) of this book, with an engraved frontispiece of an Italianate walled water-garden, together with a first edition of the second part, dated 1716, having folding diagrams, and *The Fruit Garden Kalendar* of 1718 with an appendix by his brother Edward<sup>2</sup> on the *Usefulness of the Barometer*. Before his death in 1732, the prestige of Lawrence had soared to royal heights. A perspective view of "the Prince of Wales's House and gardens at Richmond" is prefixed to his *New System of Agriculture being a complete Body of Husbandry and Gardening*, 1726. The Princess, later Queen Caroline, appears to have consulted him as to the improvement of the gardens of this "Richmond Lodge," which became her separate property and was, more closely than any other place, associated with her Court.

Lawrence was clearly one of those who yearn, but practically, for the establish-

<sup>1</sup> The amazing scope of Whiston's activity is well shown by a book not mentioned, among his works, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. This is an edition (printed at the press of William Whiston and published from John Whiston's shop, London, 1736) of the *History and Geography of Moses of Chorene*, the text set up in a clear and shapely Armenian type, with a Latin translation running parallel. Among the subscribers were Thomas Curling, Rector of Rotherhithe, Mr Martin Folkes, and Peter Goddard and Edmund Hopkinson, Fellows of Clare. There is a copy of the book in the University Library, but not at Clare.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Lawrence, "an expert on all agricultural subjects was famous for his books of maps, with particulars drawn from his surveys, showing the different kinds of land in the possession of each tenant." (*Dictionary of National Biography*.)



## THOMAS PHILLIPOT, "METAPHYSICAL" POET

ment of life, both physical and spiritual, on an incontrovertible basis of simplicity. With Whiston, his loyalty lay with "primitive Christianity," which is that intended in the title of Whiston's plea for toleration, dated May 8th, 1716, at Yelvertoft, Northants, the Rectory to which Lawrence had removed in 1700, and where (as later at Bishop Wearmouth, where he died) he conducted his horticultural experiments. That *Humble and Serious Address to the Princess and States of Europe for the Admission, or at least open Toleration of the Christian Religion in their Dominions* begins with a demonstration that "none of them do, properly speaking, admit or openly tolerate the Christian religion in their dominions at this day." Lawrence too was anti-Athanasian, and classes "the unscriptural schemes of the schoolmen and their unintelligible subtilties" among "impostures," but equally rejects Socinianism "as it disparages the work of redemption and our Redeemer Himself so far as to make the author and undertaker of it only a man like ourselves." Lawrence, however, inveighs passionately against the doctrine of "irresistible" grace, asserting that "the fundamental priviledge and original birth-right of mankind" is "our principle of free agency."

The spiritual and pragmatic affinity of Whiston and Lawrence goes some way, we think, to parallel the similar, though not unorthodox, mutuality, a century earlier, of Oley and Ferrar. But in a chillier age of vested compromise that would not brook disturbance, their fires miscarried, were smothered, or diverted themselves, in part, to heat a greenhouse.

By way of modulation from "Letters," *via* Architecture, to Music, it may be well to take some literary hybrids whose chief or most remembered preoccupation was with historical and architectural archaeology. Martin Folkes and William Cole, of whom later, were antiquarians out and out, but the reputed author of *Villare Cantianum or KENT surveyed and illustrated*<sup>1</sup> (printed at London by William Godbid in 1659), Thomas Phillipot, has been remembered for a book on Heraldry<sup>2</sup>; and, perhaps more interestingly, was poet also—our chief contributor, in fact, to that "Metaphysical" mode to which the plangent sophistication of the times betook itself. His Poems, printed at London by R. A. for John Wilcox in 1646, are contained in a very slim and rare little volume of some sixty pages—(F. 8. 38). They are dedicated to Mildmay, Earl of Westmoreland, who is reassured—

"and if you think the sacrifice not worthy of the Altar, let it be burnt, and the flame of it will be fo happie as to give me light to see my errour that durft perfume to consecrate," etc.

<sup>1</sup> Published in London, 1659 (by William Godbid) and 1664, fol.; 2nd edit. London, 1776, fol. This compilation was really the principal work of his father, but was published by and in the name of the son, Thomas Phillipot, "who thus endeavoured dishonestly to palm it off as his own." (*Dictionary of National Biography*.)

<sup>2</sup> *A brief Historical Discourse of the Original and Growth of Heraldry, demonstrating upon what rational Foundations that Noble and Heroick Science is established.* (London, 8vo. 1672.)

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

The reader, too, is reassured, at outset:

For here no Satyr, masquing in disguise  
Amongst these leaves in Ambuscado lies...  
And though some stain the paper when they write,  
And so defile and fully its chaste white  
With lines of lust that to wipe out that sin  
It even wants white to do its penance in;  
Yet I no Goats blood in my ink will spill,  
To make loose lines flow from my tainted Quill; etc.

Clearly Phillipot was an adequate contriver of "conceits." Indeed he could scatter *concetti* like *confetti*, though not in such thick clouds as quite to hide the cloven foot of a satyr that did somehow manage to obtain admission for the courting of his muse. There was some heat in the snow-balls that his Julia threw at him. However, the moralist gets his own back. In "To a Lady viewing herself in her glasse" it is demonstrated, with *pukka* "metaphysical" virtuosity, "That you your selfe your shadowes Emblems are." While "a Gentlewoman much deformed with small pox" is firmly told—

Each hole may be a Sepulcher  
Now fitly to inter  
Those, whom her coy disdain  
And nice contempt, has immaturely stain.

Skin spots, bad blood, and anatomical mishap generally afford typical trope for trope, and point to the medical transition, *via* the "Humours," of Medieval into "metaphysical." Such corruption of red, and especially of blue-red blood finds really memorable vent in one specially elaborate *coup de poésie*, if not *de grâce*: in "M. Jo. Joscelin, dying of a Feaver," we are asked—

What heat was this which scorch'd my Joscelins heart?  
And lick'd that oyle up which each vitall part  
Is daily moist'ned with? What heaps of flames  
Checquered the azure front'spice of his veines  
With crimson spots? How did their fervour purle  
His finewes? and his skins faire margent curle  
Into a shrivell'd lump? as if that he  
Was even growne Ætna's epitome,  
And might be licens'd to be canoniz'd  
Now for a Saint, since he was sacrificed  
To death in fire, and had even undergone  
By frying, with a Feaver, martyrdom,  
Which did each part with such continuance burne,  
His bed it selfe was ev'n become his urne?

Etc., at this point, we should like to print ETC.! Truly there is in such "wit" some quality of imagination, but the emotion is less illegitimate in, e.g., *On the death of a Prince, a Meditation*, where the virtuoso in merely descriptive imagery has not so



## THOMAS PHILLIPOT, POET AND ANTIQUARIAN

much of a look-in. There is a deep ironical directness of attack in the typically Donnesque sudden commencement:

In what a filence Princes paffe away...  
 No thunderclap....  
 .....no trembling earth-quake fhock  
 The frame o'th' world, as if 'twere Palfie-ftrook.  
 There was no bearded Comet did arife  
 To light a torch up at his Obfequies;  
 And though fo many men fhould have deceas'd  
 When his great foule was from the flesh releas'd  
 That *Charon's* Veffell fhould have ceas'd to float,  
 And he have cried, give me another boat;  
 Not anie yet refign'd their vitall breath,  
 Obfequioufly to wait on him, in death,....

This is getting down to it, indeed—truism is transfigured in a sort of colloquiality tinged with terror. There is here, and not only here, in Phillipot, the loins of poetry, in contrast with which the Whitehead manner is merely little-finger-wagging. But space, as usual, contracts, and rather than quote from *On the future burning of the World*, we may bid farewell to Phillipot with a quotation from his *thankfull acknowledgement to thofe Benefactours that contributtet to the re-edifying of Clare Hall in Cambridge*.

For you have fnatcht us from the Eearth [*sic*], where we  
 Lay wrapt up in our owne deformitie  
 And have reduc'd a Houfe that was Become,  
 Both to it felfe and Founder's name, a tomb,  
 And like th' Idaea of the Chaos, lay  
 Deform'd...

"You," however,

...do so prolong  
 Its fading luftre, it againe grows young.

In fact—epitome:

Clare Hall fhall be your lafting Monument  
 And, though in other tombes youl'd fhrink away  
 And melt into corruption, and decay,  
 Your Fame this Charter to it felfe can give  
 Within this monument you'l ever live.

The poem is chock-a-block with Shakespearean, etc., plagiarism—Pyramids, Maufoleums and Obelifques of Brasse difbanding or diffolving without demur. The most frequent theme of the Elizabethan sonnet, the survival of admirable mortals in monuments of art, vivifies here by its appropriateness an unusually hackneyed tradition of finale.

Thomas Phillipot<sup>1</sup> was the son of John Phillipot, whose father had thrice been Mayor of Folkestone. John became Somerset Herald in 1624, having married in

<sup>1</sup> Also spelt Philpott, etc.

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

1612 Susan Glover, whose uncle, Robert, a herald of great repute, had been Somerset Herald from 1544-88. John Phillipot had much to do with Camden, whom he greatly admired.

Thomas was admitted to Clare as Fellow Commoner, 10 Feb. 1633-4, and proceeded M.A., *Litteris Regiis*, in 1635-6. Wood (*Fasti*, Oxon.) says "he was by those that well knew him esteemed a tolerable poet when young, and at riper years well versed in matters of divinity, history, and antiquities." His father was of the company of heralds who accompanied King Charles to Oxford in the Civil War, and died obscurely in London in 1645, and his son may have been forced through actual want to the publication of the Poems we have been noticing. Other "genuine<sup>1</sup> works" are Elegies offered to the Memory of William Glover, and of Essex (the Parliamentary General). Phillipot also wrote on Navigation; on the Spanish monarchy and the East and West Indian territories "annexed . . . to the Diadem of Spain"; on "the Original of Churches"; "A Philosophical Essay Treating of the most Probable Cause of that Grand Mystery of Nature, the Flux and Reflux: or Flowing and Ebbing of the Sea" (1673); and, doubtless inspired against Donne, "Self-Homicide-Murther; or some Antidotes and Arguments gleaned out of the Treasuries of our Modern Casuists and Divines, against that Horrid and Reigning Sin of Self-Murther" (1674), etc.

Phillipot was buried at Greenwich in 1682, but had already in 1680 conferred on Clare Hall the benefaction of two Philpott<sup>2</sup> Fellowships, open only to natives of Kent with a preference to persons born in the hundred of Blackheath, the moneys deriving from lands and tenements at Eltham and Fooks Cray in Kent. These original *Bye-Fellowships* (the holders not having a voice in College affairs) were later altered into two scholarships, of value not less than £40 *per annum*.

We may here best advert to John Mason, who was born in the year of publication of Phillipot's poems, and whose hymns, amongst the earliest written specially for congregational worship, point backward to George Herbert, amongst the metaphysicals, and forward to the eighteenth century, truistic *ethos* of Isaac Watts.

"Though his phraseology is quaint and sometimes harsh," Mason "displays much devotional feeling. Some of his lines were undoubtedly well known to Pope and Wesley, and Watts borrowed freely from them. Entire hymns by him are often found in early eighteenth century collections. His work, altered by later hands, still finds a place in modern collections; the hymns beginning 'A living stream as crystal clear' (as adapted by Keble), 'Blest day of God, how calm, how bright,' 'Now from the altar of our hearts' and stanza vii of 'Jerusalem, my happy home' are perhaps the most familiar. His *Spiritual Songs, or Songs of Praise* ran into 16 editions between 1683 and 1761, his sermon *The Midnight Cry* into five editions in as many years, his *Select Remains*, with a recommendation by Watts, into 21 editions in ninety years. *A Little Catechism, with Little Verses and Little Sayings for Little Children* had run to eight editions by 1755."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> The name as spelt to-day.



## JOHN MASON AND THOMAS BURNET

In the so often both acrid and sorrowful conflict between the state religion and schism, Mason was one of several ex-Clare divines who were provoked beyond reason from one psychopathic unreason to another. The alternative tended to lie between pachydermatous fanaticism and devastating sensitiveness in melancholia, contraries too often wedded by ill-health to the procreation of some final fanatic phantasy. Thus Mason himself "constantly suffered from pains in the head, and was frequently so sensitive to noise that he retired to an empty house, where even the sound of his own footsteps and his low voice when he prayed caused him pain. He was liable to vivid and terrifying dreams, and subject to visual hallucination."<sup>1</sup>

Mason had come to Clare, a sizar, from Northamptonshire, in 1661. A Calvinist, but "of wide sympathies"—which must surely have clashed with his premises—his thoughts were unfortunately attracted to the growing expectation of the millennium. On the death of his wife this expectation came to take root at home, where intenser melancholy watered its growth with tears which fell on local soil. About 1670 he began to prophesy the personal reign of Christ on earth as imminent, and about to begin at Water Stratford, the Buckinghamshire parish of which Mason was rector. "An encampment of his followers was formed on the plot of ground south of the village, called the Holy Ground, where a rough life on community principles was carried out. Noisy meetings took place in barns and cottages, and a constant service of dancing and singing was kept up day and night in the parsonage."<sup>1</sup> One Sunday, in April 1694, he described from a window in his house a vision of the Saviour which he had experienced on the preceding Easter Monday, and henceforward used no prayers but the last clause of the Lord's Prayer, since the reign on earth had already begun and Mason's own work was accomplished.

Though Mason promptly died, his followers were so convinced of his immortality that even the exhuming and public exhibition of his body by the succeeding rector made no impression on many of them, who "had finally to be ejected from the Holy Ground." "Masonic" meetings continued for sixteen years.

In 1677, Samuel Herne, Fellow of Clare Hall, published *Domus Carthusiana, or an Account of the most noble foundation of the Charter-House*<sup>2</sup>, containing a *Life* (and *Death*), with a dignified portrait frontispiece, of Thomas Sutton, the founder. Eight years later, Thomas Burnet (1635?–1715), who had been admitted to Clare Hall 26 June 1651, as a pupil of Tillotson, was appointed Master of the Charterhouse, through the influence of the first Duke of Ormonde, with whose grandson he had travelled abroad, and in spite of complaints that, though a cleric, Burnet wore a

<sup>1</sup> Quotations from the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> Dd. 5. 31 in College Library.

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"lay habit." As Master of the Charterhouse Burnet soon came before a wider public, for it fell upon him to lead the resistance to an attempt of James II to instal there a Roman Catholic pensioner; thenceforward he was administratively a marked man, and after the Revolution became chaplain in ordinary and clerk of the closet to King William, Oldmixon even declaring that he was "thought of as the successor of his friend Tillotson in the primacy, but passed over because the bishops doubted his orthodoxy<sup>1</sup>." We may pause to remark the collocation of Clare-bred clerics round King William at this time; Tillotson, John Moore, and Burnet were all men of unusual breadth of temper and of knowledge, and the King had come from a country that was the cradle of toleration.

It is not, however, as practical man that we must linger with Burnet; we are now primarily concerned with literature, but on a course that has us heading for archaeology and architecture. Burnet we may take as, in point of prose style, of the century of Phillipot, though, in comparative alignment with poetry, his prose is of the later rather than the earlier seventeenth century, and represents, perhaps, a final stage in the process by which prose style freed itself for lucidity from the paradoxically entrancing burdensomeness of its earlier convulsions. Architecturally and archaeologically he is more or less with Whiston and the eighteenth century, for his chief and most famous subject was the origin of the world, and he built up a crudely original theory in so stately a style that it must have been hard, in those days, not to be imposed on.

We are fortunate in that Burnet's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* was written by Leslie Stephen, who gives a succinct description of his five chief works.

"Burnet is known," he writes, "as the author of some books of considerable eloquence, and interesting [again cf. Whiston] for their treatment of questions which have since been discussed by theologians and men of science. Warton in his "Essay on Pope" (i. 115, 266) thinks that he combined an imagination nearly equal to Milton's with solid powers of understanding. He is, indeed, master of a stately eloquence, marking the last period of English previous to the era of Addison, and his Latin style is equally admired for purity and elegance; but the praise of his understanding must be qualified by the admission that he was fanciful, and that his science was crude even for his time."

Of Burnet's *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, the first part appeared (in Latin) in 1681, was admired by Charles II, and was soon republished, consequently, in English, with a dedication to the King (1684). The completed work, again translated into English, was dedicated to Queen Mary in 1689, in which year Addison addressed a Latin Ode to Burnet—to be followed, later, by Steele, whose enthusiasm enlarged itself in No. 146 of *The Spectator*. Less flattering estimates were vented by Erasmus Warren (1690) and John Keill, of Balliol (1698), who also attacked the cometary

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, "Life of Burnet."



## THOMAS BURNET

explanation of the deluge by Whiston, in the latter's *New Theory of the Earth* (1696). Burnet's replies are appended to the 6th edition of his *Theory*, 1726.

"Burnet maintained," writes Stephen, "that the earth resembled a gigantic egg; the shell was crushed at the deluge, the internal waters burst out, while the fragments of the shell formed the mountains, and at the same catastrophe the equator was diverted, from its original coincidence with the ecliptic. . . . Flamsteed is reported to have said that there went more to the making of the world than a fine turned period, and that he could refute Burnet on a single sheet of paper."

Burnet's second work was less equivocally received, for in this *Archaeologiae Philosophiae sive doctrina antiqua de rerum originibus*, published in Latin and English in 1692,

he professes to reconcile his theory with the first chapter of Genesis, which receives a non-literal interpretation; and a ludicrous account of the conversation between Eve and the serpent gave great offence. Burnet published a letter "Ad clarissimum virum A.B." apologising for the indiscretion, and is said to have written to his bookseller at Amsterdam directing the suppression of his work. Charles Blount the deist made free use of the book in his *Oracles of Reason*. A popular ballad ridiculed him along with South and Sherlock, Burnet being represented as saying

That all the books of Moses  
Were nothing but supposes

That as for Father Adam  
And Mrs Eve, his Madame,  
And what the devil spoke, Sir,  
'Twas nothing but a joke, Sir,  
And well-invented flam.

He had to give up the clerkship of the closet, and it seems improbable that he could have been thought of for the primacy.

From 1697-99 Burnet was in conflict with Locke, over the "sensationalist character" of Locke's philosophy. Later he wrote, but did not publicly publish, two other works, *De Fide*, and *De Statu mortuorum et resurgentium*, arguing in the one against the eternity of punishment, and in the other maintaining that the historical religions were based upon the religion of nature, and that therefore original sin and the "magical" theory of the sacraments were beside the mark. The bibliography of these works is complicated by his having "kept these books to himself, probably to avoid further imputations of heresy," having only "a few copies printed for correction and communication to intimate friends." This growth of secrecy upon the unhallowed soil of his reputation was bound to foster parasitic piracy, and "surreptitious reprintings" and "fragmentary translations" beset the two decades following Burnet's death, which took place, in 1715, at the Charterhouse, in the chapel of which he lies buried. Only two of his writings are in the College Library—a confutation (1730) of a book entitled *Christianity as old as the Creation* (Y. 2.31), and a large folio of the English version of the *Theory* (published 1697)—the gift (*Ex meo ipsius Dono*) of Robert Greene *Tamworthiensis*.

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Burnet was born at Croft, in Yorkshire, and was "held up as a model to later pupils"<sup>1</sup> at the free school of Northallerton. The coat of arms, however, beneath the handsome engraved portrait frontispiece (after Sir Godfrey Kneller) to our *Theory* would seem to connect him, as we should expect, with the erudite Aberdeenshire family, the Burnetts of Crathës, of whom his contemporary, the famous Bishop Gilbert, was a scion. The book is illustrated by maps of the continents with their mountain systems in relief, and has a curious title-page showing, between corners infested with bodiless cherubs, Christ with either foot on a sun and on a black earth ball, below which three of five more earth balls exhibit respectively our world in ecstatic combustion, under water with angel-guided arklet loneliness afloat, and finally beoceaned and bemountained more or less to-date.

Though Burnet, after three years at Clare, migrated with Cudworth to Christ's, where he became a Fellow, he probably owed his introduction to eloquence to his old Clare tutor, Tillotson, and as good preaching is spoken literature, we may give here, instead of with his set biography, some account of Tillotson as pulpit stylist.

It is said that Tillotson cultivated his talent as a preacher with great care; the ease of his delivery made his hearers suppose that he used short notes, but he says that he had always written every word and used to get it by heart. His gifts had not availed him in the country parish where he first gave tongue, but in London he got the ear, not only of a learned profession, but of the middle classes. Hitherto the pulpit had been the great stronghold of Puritanism; under Tillotson, it became a powerful agent for weaning men from Puritan ideas. In 1674 Tillotson and Stillingfleet drafted a bill for the comprehension of Nonconformists, but in 1675 he writes of the "hopelessness of obtaining the concurrence of the King or a considerable part of the bishops." He had actually refused a bishopric before being made Archbishop of Canterbury, even which appointment was contrary to his deepest inclinations, for he honestly thought he could do more good as he was, "for the people naturally love a man that will take great pains and little preferment." Later, however, he adds, "that there may perhaps be as much ambition in declining greatness as in courting it." He now again brought in a bill for comprehension, but it was thrown out by the Commons.

Testimony is unanimous as to Tillotson's sweetness of disposition, good humour, frankness, tender-heartedness, and generosity; he spent one-fifth of his income on charity. He was perhaps the only primate who took front rank in his day as a preacher, and he thoroughly believed in the efficacy of the pulpit. "Good preaching and good living," he once told John Beardmore, who had been his pupil at Clare, "will gain upon people."

<sup>1</sup> All the above quotations are from the *Dictionary of National Biography*.



## MARTIN FOLKES, P.R.S., AND WILLIAM COLE

That Tillotson was a good teacher as well as preacher we cannot doubt, for he obviously knew that a main object of teaching should be the development of knowledgeable initiative. Beardmore's reminiscence, in 1695, is here conclusive:

It was a merciful disposal of providence, that I was placed under the tuition of so excellent a person, as John Tillotson was then, being but junior bachelor, and only a probationer for a fellowship in Clare Hall. He was at those years (1651) a very good scholar, and no way unqualified for the trust and charge incumbent upon him. He spoke Latin exceedingly well, read lectures to us that were admitted under him out of Burgersdicius's Logic; and when he went to take a new lecture, he examined us about the former, according to the author, and his own explanations. When we went to prayers in his chamber at nights, he put us for some time at first upon construing or rendering into Latin a chapter in the Greek Testament, in which he was a very great critic; and afterwards, he used to put some or other upon giving an account of the day's reading; after which account given, he would put them upon defending their author and his sense or tenets. This was done in Latin; for I know not, that he ever spoke a word of English to us, whilst we were so together, or permitted any of us to do so.

We have taken, it may be added, this quotation and the above account from the College Magazine for the Lent Term of 1904 (vol. III. no. 2), where there occurs also a brief note on Josiah Horte (1674-1751), who was successively bishop of a number of Irish sees and finally Archbishop of Tuam in 1742. Horte hardly merits even this mention here, for he was no more than a year at Clare (1704-5). "He was a somewhat rugged and uncouth man, and is said to have been the last celebrity to eat from a wooden platter."

With the eighteenth century we come to two full-fledged and preeminent antiquarians, Martin Folkes (1690-1754) and William Cole (1714-82), the latter, like Mann, a close personal friend of that eighteenth century paragon, Horace Walpole, yet in so much of his heterogeneous and almost rabid idiosyncrasy a throw-back, rather, himself to the age of Phillipot, almost of Dr Butler.

Folkes approximated to the orderly, cultured, and cosmopolitan, Cole to the extravagantly provincial type of antiquarian, and either biography gains from the contrast if the other and contemporary life is held in mind. The dissimilarity of temperament in such similarly well-nourished vessels is in itself amusing, but if we choose to read the contrast further, *savoir-faire* and *enfantisme terrible*, *finesse* and phantasmagoria seem to stalk each other in sardonic aloofness, and we realise, as so often in the enlargement of caricature, gravitations of character which the naked eye might not perceive.

Both men were born appropriately, Folkes in the metropolis (in Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, close to Newcastle House), Cole, whose yeoman progenitors had for generations lived on the Essex borders of Cambridgeshire, at Little Abington, near "Baberham," in the shadow (if any) of the Gogmagog hills, about which he was to write. Folkes was the eldest son of a bencher of Gray's Inn by a daughter of Sir William Hovell of Hillington Hall, near Lynn, Cole the offspring of the third

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wife of a father who was four times espoused, the penultimate union being with Elizabeth Tuer, daughter of a Cambridge merchant.

Before coming to Clare (July 31, 1706), where he was admitted Fellow Commoner, Folkes was sent as a boy to the University of Saumur, his tutor describing him, in terms which can hardly have applied to Cole, as "a choice youth of a penetrating genius and master of the beauties of the best Roman and Greek writers." Cole's early education was in "private" schools such as Crabbe was to describe, at Cambridge, Linton, and Saffron-Walden. The spring from these to Eton might have been alarming, but Cole had no doubt already developed that resilient self-confidence that comes of following enthusiasms wholeheartedly, and his principal school friendship, with Horace Walpole, is only superficially incongruous. In both archaeological curiosity was avid, and both shaped early on in life to be the voluble, and invaluable, *raconteurs* of personal, topographical, archaeological and architectural -ana and *bric-a-brac* they soon became. "While yet a boy" Cole "was in the habit of copying monumental inscriptions, and drawing coats of arms in trick from the windows of churches"—was teaching, in fact, the *old* idea how to shoot.

We may now follow each biography in turn, taking Folkes, the older man, first. At Clare Hall he made distinguished progress in a number of subjects, but particularly mathematics, and in 1714, though only twenty-three years old, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, over which, in Sir Isaac Newton's absences, he began to preside from 1722-3, becoming President definitely in 1741 through the retirement of Sir Hans Sloane. Folkes had proceeded M.A. at Cambridge in 1717, became D.C.L. of Oxford in 1746, a member of the French Academy (in succession to Edward Halley of comet fame) in 1742, and Fellow (1719 and 1720) and President (1749 till his death in 1754) of the Society of Antiquaries. For this last he wrote on Roman antiquities and coins, publishing also in 1736 and 1745 two "Tables" of English gold and silver coins which were of great service to antiquaries. To the *Transactions* of the Royal Society he contributed ten papers, for the most part on astronomy and meteorology. He was an associate of the Egyptian Club and a member of the Spalding Society (founded in 1710), a friend of Newton, and a patron of George Edwards, the naturalist. He even assisted Theobald to compile his notes on Shakespeare.

Unlike Cole, Folkes neither sprawled nor bawled beneath the burden of his extensive researches. He is characterised as "upright, modest and affable," and Stukeley describes the Royal Society's meetings, under him "literary rather than scientific," as at that time "a most elegant and agreeable entertainment for a contemplative person." There is, however, an amateur ring about this latter eulogium



## WILLIAM COLE, ANTIQUARIAN

which may account for Sir John Hill's attack on the Royal Society, in his "Review" of its "Works," being dedicated in 1751 to Folkes<sup>1</sup>.

His wife, Lucretia Bradshaw, had been an actress, and was described—a little optimistically, it is thought—as "one of the greatest and most promising genii of her time," whom Folkes took off the stage for her "exemplary and prudent conduct." Their son, Martin, "inherited his father's taste for coins," and, presumably, for Clare, to which he was admitted Fellow Commoner in 1737, but which he did not live to adorn as an *alumnus*, being killed by falling from his horse at Caen, whither he had repaired to complete his studies. The elder Martin died in 1754 and was buried at Hillington Church, being commemorated in 1792 by a monument in the south aisle of the choir of Westminster Abbey. In addition to two portrait-medals<sup>2</sup>, there are half-a-dozen portraits of Folkes, the best of them, from which the copy in Hall was made, by Hogarth. This last he bequeathed to the Royal Society, together with £200, a portrait of Bacon, and a cornelian ring for the use of the President.

Returning, now, to Cole, we have to rely for the substance of our account almost entirely on the life by Thompson Cooper in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Cole was admitted to Clare Hall as pensioner, 25 Jan. 1733, and obtained a year later a Freeman Scholarship, but the inheritance of his father's estate in 1735 enabled him to enter himself as Fellow Commoner. In 1736, however, and, at this safe distance, most unluckily for us, he migrated to King's, where a younger brother had obtained a Fellowship. Of this institution he was to compile a History in four volumes, although, despite his eleventh-hour perplexity as to the disposal of his MSS., he had emphatically decided, as he wrote in 1778, that "to give them to King's College would be to throw them into a horsepond," the members of that society being "generally so conceited of their Latin and Greek that all other studies are barbarous"—a most interesting glance at the freezing visage cast upon such "enthusiasms" as were not within the pale of the eighteenth century's vested academism (not yet, incidentally, quite extinct). This attitude must greatly have whetted a zest for personalities so candid that they could not be aired openly, a fact that prevented the proper and timely ventilation of the immense foreshore of

<sup>1</sup> This impression is not "corrected" by the amusingly credulous tone of the extract from a letter to Martin Folkes, preserved in the Library, "concerning y<sup>e</sup> Petrified Town" some three weeks' journey south from Tripoli. The extract is quoted in the College Magazine for the Michaelmas Term of 1904 (vol. iv, no. 1).

<sup>2</sup> One of these is described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (to which, as usual, we are much indebted) by the authors of the *History of the English Stage*, 1741, as "a curious portrait-medal (specimen in British Museum) with the reverse type of a sphinx, the sun, and the tomb of Caius Sestius, and executed at Rome. It bears a date of the era of masonry corresponding either to A.D. 1738 or 1742, and there is a story that it was made by command of the Pope as a surprise to Folkes on his visit; but Folkes is not known to have been in Rome" in either year.

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solid matter to which they were encrusted. Not only in his lifetime, but until twenty years had elapsed after his death, only two or three chosen intimates should see what he had written. To one of these, Horace Walpole, at Strawberry Hill, he sent the *History of King's College* in 1777, with the following explanation about his manuscripts:

No person except Dr Lyne and Mr John Allen of Trinity College ever looked into them. Indeed, you are the only person that I should think a moment about determining to let them go out of my hands: and in good truth they are generally of such a nature as makes them not fit to be seen, for through life I have never artfully disguised my opinions, and as my books were my trusty friends, who have engaged never to speak till twenty years after my departure, I always, without guile, entrusted them with my most secret thoughts, both of men and things; so that there is what the world will call an ample collection of scandalous rubbish heaped together

—such as, for instance, the following, added, within a few months of his death, to the *opus* on King's:

Here I left off this work in 1752, and never began it again, quitting college that year for the rectory of Blecheley in Buckinghamshire, at the presentation of Browne Willis, esq., and so lost fifteen years of the best part of my life for disquisitions of this sort, and never having a relish to commence this work when I retired into my native county again in 1767, when I made of an old dilapidated cottage at Milton near Cambridge, a decent gentleman's house, laying out upon the premises at least 600£, the annual rent being only 17£ per annum, hired of the college, and no lease till my time; yet after six years occupancy Cooke, the snotty-nosed head of it, soon after his election, had the rascality, with Paddon, a dirty wretch, and bursar suitable to him, to alter my lease, and put new terms to it. But from such a scoundrel, and I am warranted to call him no other, and would call him so to his face the first time I see him, with the addition of a liar and mischief-maker through life, no other than dirty treatment can be expected. I write this 9 June, 1782.

Upon such a transport it would have been "rich to die." Only a trifle more incitement and it might have become the dedication.

These extracts requoted from the *Dictionary of National Biography* are characteristic, but by no means wholly so, for their typography is not that of Cole. For this we must turn to *The Cambridge Portfolio*, on page 153 of which the Rev. J. J. Smith describes Cole's "singular manner of writing":

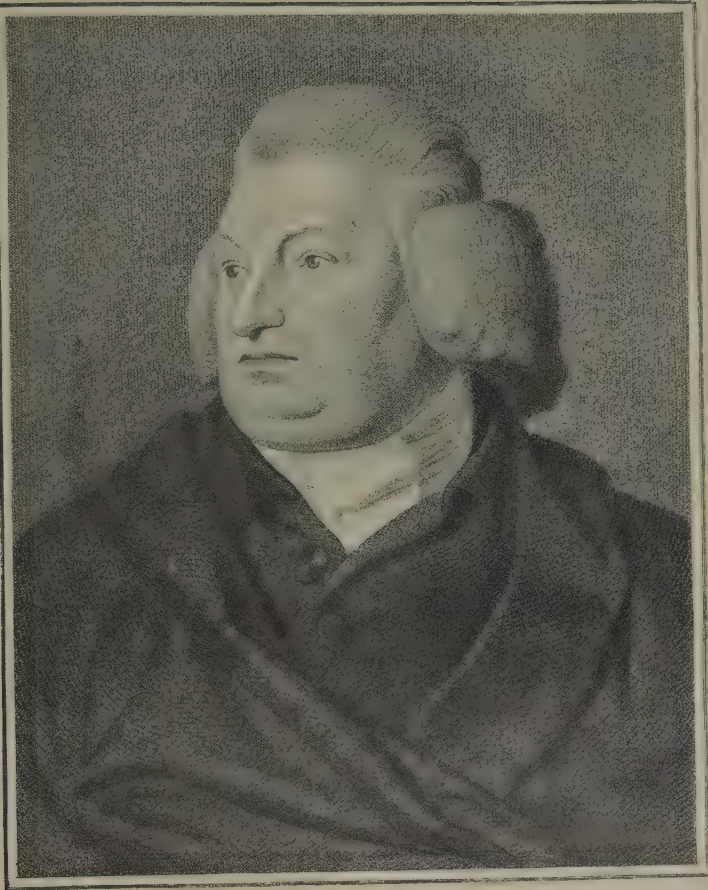
every noun substantive after the German fashion having a capital initial, whereby he has exhibited successful avoidance of Voltaire's "fanciful mode of dropping his capitals," of which he strongly disapproved; and every word in the least degree emphatic, being more or less deeply underlined, to an extent almost destructive of the effect intended to be produced.

This technique we may exemplify from Smith's own "Postscript to the Legend of the [Gogmagog] Hills," on page 196 of the *Portfolio*, where he quotes Cole as follows:

In a quaint book by *Bishop Hall*...called the *Discovery of a New World or a Description of the South Indies*, with this running title, *The description of Tenter-Belly* and subscribed the *Cambridge Pilgrim*, at p. 44, is this:—

*A Giant called All Paunch, who was of an incredible Height of Body, not like him whose Picture the Schollers of Cambridge goe to see at Hogmagog Hills, but rather like him that ought the two Aple Teeth which were digged out of a well in Cambridge, that were little lesse than a man's head.*





WILLIAM COLE  
The Cambridge Antiquary  
1714-82

Actus 3<sup>us</sup> Scena 2<sup>a</sup>  
Niphila. Tany. Buff. Cath.  
As they came out of the door he tripps & p.  
thru's, withs, with a rope, and beates  
them with the Cudgel.  
Liz. I give her, with your hand, much thanks,  
me, let not stay. She tripps again, Tany. A rope  
on her, with great violence almost broke her neck.  
Cath. Hey, an then spoiled you in Thugson's  
life. Niphila. This is strange, before you, a rope  
on my, I have not a word of an answer to this?  
Cath. About it, if you can find any of the rope, or the  
rope's. Tany. A rope on her, and take her back.  
Buff. See marrent you he is, you a good, by this  
time, I'll not I know but he's got you, watch  
I have but my long sword, which I would thou  
hadst.



make the Clownes yeald when all is done. I have it that will make them pay for it, but you thinke I am no man of my word, well be it so, but yet if you knewe all you would honour mee presently. I following the villaines and dogging them up and downe as it is a part of my study to play the Eivesdroper (as I can doe it pretily) at Mr Colebies parlour windowe there I heard such a sackfull of greasie consultations offensive to any good witt, there to be short I heard that Mr Colbie the Collier should convey away Corne under his coles to night. I away presently came hither consulting upon it how I might worke upon this villaine. what if I goe nowe in the dearch, and tell the poore people, that they plucke out the villaines eyes; no hange them, our authority shall make them stoupe. Ile even goe and tell Mr Musonius and Philenius of it, I am sure it is imprisoning at the least, they will hamper him in a paire of shackles or some thinge or other from our Rector. faith shall be even so. but what if they will not medle with it? why then Ile search them out some waye or other thats certeine, Ile about it.  
*Exit. finis Actus 2<sup>di</sup>.*

*Actus 3<sup>us</sup>. Scena 1<sup>a</sup>.*

*Crickett solus.*

*Crick.* Ah you rascall Coleby you, if I be not on your skirts, if all hold, lett mee be putt into the blacke bill. By great chaunce I had noe sooner gone hence, but I presently mett with the two Gentlemen who after I had certified them of it, you would not thinke what a company of good [fellows] they gave mee and presently they gott a writt (to attach him) from Mr Rector. Now sir, they them selves are watching in a friends house, and I am here verie well imployed, a scout to espy his comming and then certifie them of it and call them out; so that they are but my adjuvants, I am the cheife agent in this | matter. You shall see how gallantly we'll performe

it. But let mee see, what time of night is it? Yet it is not much past tenne of the clocke, and I warrent you it will be eleaven ere this Collierly Corne-monger come. what shall I stand here all this while like John Drome? ffaith I shall sleepe, well I cannot, I must about some tricke or other. what let mee [see] my instruments. What a plague how came I by this rope? ô now I knowe. surely, I will use this, and how? what if I strangle the next fellowe that comes and gett on his backe and hange upon the rope? I can doe it in a trice aswell as the best hangeman of them all. No I will not least I should crie guiltie before Mr Burgomaster, and he shall say, here I indite you by the name of Nic. Crickett. nowe I have founde it. so here Ile tye my rope and see what fortune will befall mee. ôh god could I but breake one of their necks I were a most happie man, let mee see, is my voice cleare? hem, it will serve. murder, murder\*, I am slaine, helpe, helpe Mr Burgomaster, helpe, murder, murder. \* *A rope was tied at Mr Burgomasters dore.*

*Actus 3<sup>us</sup>. Scena 2<sup>a</sup>.*

*Niphill. Tavy. Puff. Catch.*

*As they came out of the dore hē tripps up their heeles with a rope, and beates them with the Clubb.*

*Puff.* ô good Lord, will yee murder mee? *Crick.* no Il'e not stay. (he stepps aside.) *Tavie.* A poxe on her, Puff great knave almost breck her packe. *Catch.* Nea, I am cleane spoiled, good Mr Burgo-master rise. *Niphle.* This is strange, before god, a rope before my dore? what a peece of knaverie is this? looke about if you can see any of theise crack-ropes. *Tavie.* A poxe on her, was take her heels. *Puff.* Ile warrent you he is gone a good [mile] by this time. *Crick.* not so farre but hee sees you. *Catch.* I have hurt my legg shrodly. *Crick.* I would thou | hadst broke thy necke.

it the fineliest you would not thinke, I cutt it from my Tutors side as he was leaning on his window lookinge on a booke, and he never perceived mee. Now have at you, you slaves you, heigh brave lads heigh. *Muso.* I had no sooner gott to Mr Rectors lodging, but presently he gave it mee in his bed, and greatly commended our studies. lett us see what company wee have here; what shall wee doe with this little Ape amonge us? *Crickett.* ffoh Mr Musonius ther's a question! why Ile doe more att the hoisting of a Clowne, then the greatest looby of them all. *Muson.* I but you must trudge homeward. why they will say wee are all boyes, if they should see you, come you must be gone. *Crick.* I must be gone, and here is a great stocke, that hath no more mettall in him then your whelpe, and hee must goe, because he is a litle bigger then I, and I must be gone. *Muso.* How this boy prates. you will play the Rakehell. *Crick.* Nea, if you thinke not well of my company, I will not trouble you. this is all that I have for helping to this oportunitie, Ile make a shewe, but I will not leave you so. (Hee goes by a litle.) *Muso.* Are you gone? fare you well. I wonder why Philenius stayes so longe.

*Actus 3<sup>us</sup>. Scena 7<sup>a</sup>.*

*Philenius and his company.*

*Phile.* ffaith, Mr Coleby hath but cold lodging, but mee thinks, I see some Companie before us, my Masters you must stand to it, here is some false knaves abroad. Hoe is there? *Muso.* A friend. *Phile.* The word. downe with him. *Muso.* Nay Philenius, hold, hold, it is Musonius. *Phile.* Musonius, if thou hadst not spake, wee had made you tast of Clublawe, but why are you here? I wonder thou didst not followe us. *Muso.* Thou maist presume some urgent occasion hath detain'd mee. *Phile.* I prethee lett us knowe. *Muso.* To make any discourse would be too tedious, only marke the event and follow mee. I tell the I am the Officer, this is the house, who is within here, open the dore. *Tavy.* what will her peate downe her toore? who is here? *Muso.* Marry wee come from Mr Rectors with authoritie to search your house for certaine suspitious persons. *Tavy.* Ho, Mr Nifle, oh the search, the Rectors search is come, what will you doe? *Nifle.* Search? Alas what shall I doe? keepe them out. *Tavy.* Catts plood can her tell how? away. *Phile.* what | shall wee attende

all this night upon this Rogues pleasure? burst ope the dore. *Tavie.* Nea, her shall not need, be not over hasty, what will her needs search, py codd her skorne to keepe pip pap in her house. *Muso.* Come letts in. *Tavie.* nay Shentlemen let her crave lett not above 2. or 3. in. *Muso.* Prethee keepe the dore, lett none come in. *Tavie.* Marry her doe so had need, her was loose a Coverlett and napkins. *Muso.* Come letts see what strangers you have here, open that doore. how now, what wench is this? *Tavie.* Is her sister. *Phile.* nay if shee be his sister lett us in to. (They enter in.) *Tavie.* what a poxe will her lett all the towne in? *Muso.* Rise huswife, and make your selfe readie. *Luce.* ffor your pleasure sir? *Muso.* This is strange he should escape us. *Phile.* Nea, we must finde him out. *Nifle.* O god how am I persecuted by a company of gentle Athenians! o would to god I had kept my selfe with the good man. I had never byn so troubled. o lust, lust, what danger am I come into by thy procuring, but what shall I doe, whither shall I goe, that I may hide my selfe? o that men in authoritie should be in such adversitie, lett mee see, heeres a tubb. Ile creepe in here, they will never suspect it.

*ffinis Act. 3. Scenae 7<sup>mae</sup>.*

*Actus 3<sup>us</sup>. Scena 8<sup>va</sup>.*

*Cricket.*

*Crickett.* whats there creeping into a tubb? I hold my life Mr Burgomaster hath scapt the search, I am glad I came backe againe, Ile stande by and say nothing. *A wench in the tubb.* Nea good gaffer, doe not hurt mee, I am a poore beggar wench, for the passion of god doe not beate mee, I did not knowe it was your tubb. *Nifle.* Hold thy peace good wench, I doe not meane to hurt thee. *Wench.* Oh you will, you will, good God what shall become of mee? *Nifle.* I tell thee I will not, lye still, and I will give thee two pence, for Gods sake lye still. *Muso.* You had as good certifie us where hee is, youle injurie your selfe more then you thinke of. *Tavy.* As cod shall helpe her soule, her vas runne away. *Phile.* Come letts after him, wee may overtake him ere hee come att his house. *Muso.* Content. Why you litle villaine, what make you here? *Cric.* ffaith I could not loose your company, for I came backe againe presently, but where is hee? where is hee? *Muso.* you [are] a fine boy, I durst venture my life hee was | never here.



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being a first roman

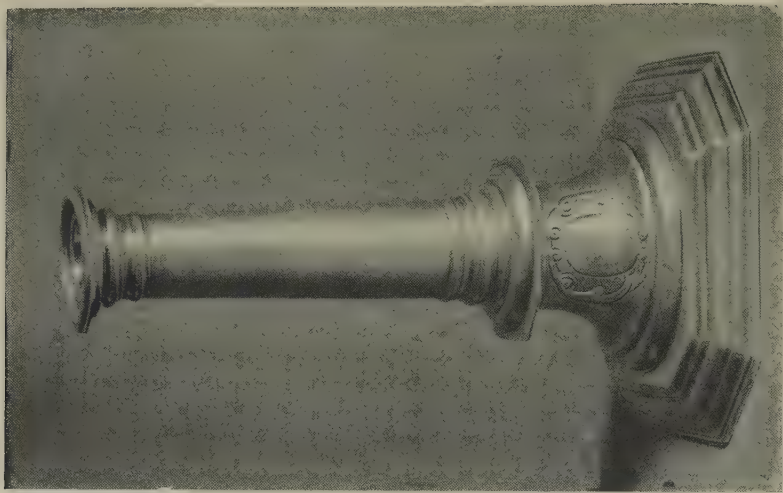
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TWO PAGES OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF RUGGLE'S *CLUB LAW*



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CANDLESTICK, ONE OF A PAIR,  
PRESENTED BY CARR, BARON  
HERVEY OF ICKWORTH, 1710

These are similar in outline to the "Buxton" candlesticks, but the stems are plain and the edges are plain and moulded. The arms of the donor, 1710, and those of the College, are engraved in oval medallions with embossed scrolled borders. Height, 10 in.



After the painting by J. B. Van Loo in the Nationa. Portrait Gallery

JOHN, BARON HERVEY OF ICKWORTH, 1696-1743



## WILLIAM COLE, ANTIQUARIAN

When I was a boy, about 1724, I remember my *Father* or *Mother*, as it happened I went with *one* or *other* of them to *Cambridge*, the *road* from *Baberham* there lying through the *Camp*, (now blocked up by the *house* and *gardens* inclosed in it of my *Lord Godolphin*) always used to stop and show *me* and my *Brother* and *Sisters* the *figure* of the *giant* carved on the *Turf*; concerning whom there were then many *traditions*, now worn away. What became of the two said *Teeth* I never heard.

But we must return to the sequence of his biography. In 1736, 1737, and 1743, respectively, Cole visited Flanders, Lisbon, and Flanders again. He became B.A. in 1736, and through his friend Lord Montfort, Lord-Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, a deputy-lieutenant in 1740, when he also proceeded M.A. Having become a priest in 1744-5, he was appointed chaplain to two successive Earls of Kinnoull, through whom, perhaps, it was that he achieved the far-fetched honour, in 1749, of the freedom of the city of Glasgow. Bishop Sherlock now gave him the rectory of Hornsey in Middlesex; "yet his manner was such that I soon resigned it again to him. I had not been educated in episcopal trammels, and liked a more liberal behaviour"—a point at which we might imagine the tingling of episcopal ears, were it not for the unparalleled reservation which immediately follows: "yet he was a great man, and I believe an honest one."

In 1753 Cole went, as stated, to Bletchley, whence in 1765 he made a lengthy tour in France with Horace Walpole, one intention being to find in Normandy a cheap and quiet place for eventual retirement. Even at Eton Walpole had jocularly noticed an inclination to Roman Catholicism, and in his manuscripts Cole "did not conceal his partiality" for that and his contempt for the reformed religion, and it is highly probable that a change in his spiritual home would have coincided with the more geographical decision. But Walpole adroitly pointed out that

under the *droit d'aubaine* the king of France would become the possessor of all Cole's cherished manuscripts, which even at this period consisted of no fewer than forty folio volumes. "They are," he wrote to Walpole (17 March, 1765), "my only delight—they are my wife and children—they have been, in short, my whole employ and amusement for these twenty or thirty years; and though I really and sincerely think the greatest part of them stuff and trash, and deserve no other treatment than the fire, yet the collections which I have made towards an '*History of Cambridgeshire*,' the chief points in view of them, with an oblique or transient view of an '*Athenae Cantabrigienses*,' will be of singular use to any one who will have more patience and perseverance than I am master of to put the materials together. These therefore I should be much concerned should fall into the hands of the French King's officers."

Moreover in the course of his travels he was shocked at the prevailing spirit of irreligion. He therefore determined not to make France his home.

The conclusion of this comedy, and his transfer in 1767 from Bletchley to a "hired house" at Waterbeach, inaugurate the third and final period of Cole's life. Though his habitat was uncomfortable and he found that he "had got into a parish which abounded with fanatics of almost all denominations," and though his finances were "miserably reduced by quitting the living of Bletchley, and by half

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

my own estate being under water by the breaking of the Bedford river bank at Over after the great snow in February was twelvemonth," he was determined not "to engage myself in any ecclesiastical matters again, except greater should be offered than I am in expectation of. I have already refused two livings . . . ; for I have no inclination to the duty and do not love to be confined," and again (writing to Father Charles Bonaventure Bedingfeld, a minorite friar) "could I have my books and conveniences about me, I should nowhere like better than to finish my days among my countrymen in a conventual manner"—"not however," he takes care to explain, "as a monk or friar . . . because I have no religious vocation."

Alarming wet weather and an excruciating onset of gout determined a removal, in 1770, from Waterbeach to Milton, thenceforward familiar as the home of "Cole of Milton," or "Cardinal Cole," where he continued to reside (as absentee vicar of Burnham, Bucks, from 1774) till his death in 1782<sup>1</sup>. "He lies buried in St Clements Church, Cambridge, under the steeple, which bears on its front his motto, 'Deum Cole.' On the right hand of the entrance to the church is a monument, with an inscription stating that the steeple was erected with money left by him for the purpose."

Amongst Cole's friends and correspondents we find the poet Gray, and the Shakespearean scholars Steevens and Farmer (Master of Emmanuel, the centre at Cambridge of a "Georgian" *Kultur*). He was exalted by Horace Walpole as his "oracle in any antique difficulties." Though publishing no separate work of his own, he rendered assistance ubiquitously, as a "debit" column in the *Dictionary of National Biography* attests. But, to quote Mr Thompson Cooper thence:

Cole's chief literary monument is the magnificent collection of manuscripts, extending to nearly 100 folio volumes, in his own handwriting, which are deposited in the British Museum. He began to form this vast collection while at college, beginning with fifteen volumes which he kept in a lock-up case in the university library. . . . Some idea of his industry as a transcriber may be gathered from this passage in a letter to Walpole (12 Sept. 1727): "You will be astonished at the rapidity of my pen when you observe that this folio of 400 pages [Baker's *History of St John's*], with above a hundred coats of arms and other silly ornaments, was completed in six weeks; for I was called off for above a week to another manuscript. . . ; besides some days of visiting and being visited."

Oh for the transcribing wings, sighs the present writer, of a Cole!

Cambridge, above all, is the poorer for want of a full-dress life of Cole. In his 170-page *Index to the contents of the Cole Manuscripts in the British Museum* [which their author had previously thought of leaving to Eton College or, probably through Dr Farmer, to Emmanuel] Mr G. J. Gray quotes Professor Willis's tribute—

they are an invaluable storehouse of information about the Town, County, University and Colleges of Cambridge. . . . Cole took a lively interest in all that was passing around him, and the documents which he copies are interspersed with notes, comments, and descriptions, not to mention personal scandal and political invective. He was fond of heraldry and architecture, and lived on terms of

<sup>1</sup> His charming old house, near the church, is still in excellent condition, the wall abutting on the road still studded with Gothic sculptured heads, and inscribed with Cole's name.



## GEORGE PARKER, EARL OF MACCLESFIELD, P.R.S.

intimacy with Sir James Burrough and Mr James Essex, who...were the architects successively employed during the last [18th] century to transform so many buildings from a medieval to a classical style. Cole watched these changes carefully, and he has left numerous detailed descriptions of buildings, drawn up while they were in progress.

Mr Gray describes three portraits of Cole, and reproduces, as we do, that engraved by Facius from the painting by T. Kerrich, published by J. and G. Facius in 1809. Kerrich's original is in the Print Room of the British Museum (cf. Plate I).

To two Clare men, Latimer and Greene, Mr Downs has assigned, as we have mentioned, "the two finest valedictory utterances in the English language." For one who, writing in no agony of mind or body, had yet loved living in the multifariousness of this world and of its records, we submit that this letter, in some sort deemed valedictory, from Cole to Essex in July 1779, is "not," as they say, "discreditable":

*I am not well to-day. Perhaps I may not see you again. If I am under ground at your Return (for I expect to go off suddenly and wish for it) as a Friend, look at the spot, and as you contrived me a neat place here for a temporary dwelling, so I beg you to recommend it to my Executor, to desire you to ornament my longest Home. Adieu, Wm. Cole.*

In a letter to Allen he had written:

I am wearing my eyes, fingers, and self out in writing for posterity, of whose gratitude I can have no adequate idea, while I neglect my friends, who I know would be glad to hear from me.

Cole's is a type one associates with "kidney" rather than with "kith and kin"; it is to recorders of his kidney that volumes such as this are more or less subconsciously dedicated.

If the College came near to supplying Government in the mid-eighteenth century with successive Chancellors of Exchequer, it was at that time nearer still to crowning science with consecutive Presidents of the Royal Society. In 1752, two years before the death of Martin Folkes, George Parker (1697-1764), who had succeeded his father as second Earl of Macclesfield twenty years earlier, was raised to the presidency of the Society. Born at Derby, Parker had been admitted Fellow Commoner at Clare on June 18, 1715, but proceeded M.A. (*fil. nob.*) from Corpus in 1718. From 1719 he held a life appointment as teller of the exchequer, became F.R.S. in 1722, sat in Parliament for Wallingford from 1722 to 1727, and was made honorary D.C.L. of Oxford University in 1759. A member of the French Academy, he held two picturesque appointments of, at this moment, rather special interest—the high stewardship of Henley-upon-Thames and a vice-presidency of the Foundling Hospital. Like Sir George Lee, Macclesfield was an intimate of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and was one of the pall-bearers at his funeral in 1751. His own death took place at Shirburn on 17 March, 1764.

Macclesfield was perhaps the leading astronomer of his day, to which, however,

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

his influence will never be confined. For, according to S. G. in the *Dictionary of National Biography*:

he was mainly instrumental in procuring, in 1752, the change of style. He communicated to the Royal Society on 10 May 1750 a preparatory paper entitled "Remarks upon the Solar and the Lunar Years" (*Phil. Trans.* XLVI. 417); made most of the necessary calculations; and his speech in the House of Peers, 18 March 1751, on the second reading of the "Bill for regulating the Commencement of the Year" was by general request separately printed. Lord Chesterfield wrote of him as the virtual author of the bill, . . . adding that he "spoke with infinite knowledge and all the clearness that so intricate a matter could admit of; but as his words, his periods, and his utterance, were not near so good as mine, the preference was most unanimously, though most unjustly, given to me" (*Letters to his Son*, II. 76, ed. Carey). Macclesfield's action in the matter was highly unpopular. . . . When his eldest son, Lord Parker, contested Oxfordshire in 1754, one of the cries of the mob was, "Give us back the eleven days we have been robbed of;" and a ballad of the day commences:

In seventeen hundred and fifty-three  
The style it was changed to Popery.

When in London, Macclesfield resided in Soho Square, but his genius flourished at a place itself peculiarly distinguished for *genius loci*—Shirburn Castle in Oxfordshire. His mathematical mentors were Abraham de Moivre and William Jones, and at Shirburn the latter continued to guide his brilliant pupil, who was also assisted by James Bradley to erect there, in 1739, an astronomical observatory, whose equipment, "perhaps the finest then existing," is briefly described in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. For Bradley, in 1742, he exerted himself unsparingly to procure the post of Astronomer-royal, next training, as substitute assistants, a stable-boy and a shepherd, who are depicted, in an engraving belonging to the Royal Astronomical Society, in act of observation, when Phelps, the stable-boy, was over eighty years of age. The Shirburn Castle observing-books are preserved in the Savilian Library at Oxford. Macclesfield built hard by the castle "a large chemical laboratory, supplied with furnaces and other apparatus": whether any trace of it remains we cannot say.

Macclesfield, then Lord Parker, had visited Italy in 1720, and an account of his travels was brought out (in 1730) in two volumes quarto by his companion, Edward Wright. Two portraits<sup>1</sup> exist—at Shirburn Castle, by Hogarth, and, by T. Hudson in 1753, in the meeting room of the Royal Society (Plate VIII). By his first wife, Mary, daughter of Ralph Lane, he had two sons.

Though they flourished a century apart, we may conclude our survey of the College's *littérateurs*—particularly antiquarian—by coupling the names of two insatiable book-collectors, John Boys (1571–1625), Dean of Canterbury, and John Moore (1646–1714), Bishop of Ely.

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to the Director of the National Portrait Gallery for the following information concerning these portraits. That by Hudson was exhibited at the South Kensington exhibition of 1867, while the Hogarth was shown at the Exhibition of Old Masters at Burlington House in 1882.



## JOHN BOYS, DEAN OF CANTERBURY

John Boys was admitted pensioner of Corpus Christi College, April 20, 1586, and thence proceeded B.A., 1589-90, and M.A. 1593, but failing to succeed to a Kentish Fellowship at C.C.C., through a Norfolk man's appointment, migrated to Clare Hall the same year, being forthwith chosen to a Fellowship. His B.D., and D.D., 1601, he took from Clare, becoming also, in 1610, Fellow of Chelsea College.

Boys came of an ancient Kentish stock<sup>1</sup>, which plumed itself on Conquest ancestry, and had put forth eight branches, "each with its capital mansion," in that county. John was the son of Thomas of Eythorne, by Christian, daughter and co-heiress of John Searles of Wye. His passage to Corpus Christi renders it probable that he had been grounded at King's School, Canterbury, for Archbishop Parker had just founded at C.C.C. several scholarships appropriated to that school.

It was as a preacher that Boys first came to the fore, under the fiery stimulus, no doubt, of Archbishop Whitgift, who made him master, in 1597, of Eastbridge Hospital. In 1593, the year when his persecution of Barrow and Greenwood culminated, Whitgift had written to the Vice-Chancellor and heads of Colleges complaining of the refusal of the Cambridge divines to take their part in the duty of preaching, there being a particular dearth of competence in London pulpits.

Perhaps Boys' Fellowship at Clare was one immediate reaction to this "whip." Five years later we find him preaching, at the tender age of twenty-seven, at St Paul's Cross itself, and his precocious gift was probably in evidence much earlier. Two years later Boys was once more preaching at the Cross, and actually in the pulpit when Essex made his reckless attempt at rebellion.

In 1609, Boys made a second debut, this time as a theological writer, with *The Minister's Invitatorie*, an exposition of English Liturgy, which he followed, in 1610, 1614 and 1616, with expositions of *The Dominical Epistles and Gospels*, of *The Festival Epistles and Gospels*, and of *The proper Psalms as used in our English Liturgie*. Appointments to Tilmanstone, Hollingbourne, and Monaghan culminated in 1619 in his promotion to the Deanery of Canterbury, and to membership, in 1620, of the High Commission Court. He collected his works into a single folio in 1622, and died suddenly among his books in 1625 (*vide* Plate V, and Chapter VII, The College Library, in our treatment of the ancient manner of keeping and arranging books)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Under Thirty Seven Reigns* (an account of the family of Boys, de Bois, or de Bosco), by Elizabeth Boys Behrens (The St Catharine's Press, 1926).

<sup>2</sup> John Boys' monument in Canterbury Cathedral no doubt suggested a similar Boys memorial in the parish church of Great Missenden, Bucks—to a parish of which county the once considerable feudal family of de Bois or de Bosco gave its name, viz. Chesham Bois. In Lysons' *Buckinghamshire* (*Magna Britannia*, vol. 1, 1806), we read of Missenden:

"There are several monuments of the family of Boys, one of which exhibits a bust of the deceased, under a circular arch composed of books," a statement which is rendered more circumstantially in vol. 1 (p. 172) of *Buckinghamshire* (1912) in the *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments* series. There three Boys monuments

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, from which this account is compressed, Boys' expositions

"supplied a great need and had a very large and rapid sale; new editions followed one another in quick succession, and it would be a difficult task to draw up an exhaustive bibliographical account of his publications. . . they continued to be read and used very extensively till troublous times set in; but the dean [like his master Whitgift] was far too uncompromising an Anglican and too unsparing in his denunciation of those whom he calls 'the novelists,' to be regarded with any favour. . . by any who sympathised with the puritan theology." However, "when he began to be almost forgotten in England his works were translated into German and published at Strasburg in 1683, and in two vols 4to in 1685."

So much for preached and written exegesis. A third preoccupation was with books and literature at large, and we may close this account with the *Dictionary's* conclusion:

It may safely be affirmed that no writer of the seventeenth century quotes so widely and so frequently from contemporary literature as Boys, and that not only from polemical or exegetical theology, but from the whole range of popular writers of the day. Bacon's *Essays* and *The Advancement of Learning*, Sandys' *Travels*, Owen's, More's, and Parkhurst's *Epigrams*, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*. . . with Boys' favourite book, Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas' *Divine Weeks*, must have been bought as soon as they were published. Indeed Boys must have been one of the great book collectors of his time. His works are full to overflowing of homely proverbs, of allusions to the manners and customs of the time, of curious words and expressions.

Boys married Angela Bargrave of Bridge, Kent, sister of Isaac Bargrave, rector of Eythorne, who had also been educated at Clare, and was to succeed him as Dean of Canterbury. The marriage was childless.

Perhaps this relationship of Boys and Bargrave, reinforced by the College connections with Kent and with Virginia<sup>1</sup>—with, too, the religious dissensions that were so great a factor in fomenting the Civil War—may warrant here an abridgment of the life of Bargrave as given, also, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Isaac Bargrave (1586–1643) was a hard and worldly ecclesiastic of arrogantly Cavalier breed, yet not without some softer partiality for the arts. Graduating B.A. and M.A. at Clare, he was incorporated M.A., also, of Oxford in 1611. In 1612, however, he was holding the office of Taxor at Cambridge, where he received the D.D. degree in 1622. On 8 March 1614–15, he took the part of "Torcol, portugallus, leno" in the production of *Ignoramus* before James I, and then spent three years abroad as chaplain at Venice to the English Ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton (the "Sir Politic Would-be," according to a plausible recent thesis, of Ben Jonson's *Volpone*). Wotton's favourable recommendation led, no doubt, in 1622,

at Missenden are described, the earliest, in S. aisle "to William Bois, 1631, inscription in round-headed recess, with voussoirs representing books, broken pediment with shields, and small figure representing Death."

<sup>1</sup> Captain John Bargrave had much to do with Virginia, the Virginia Company, and Nicholas Ferrar, in the critical years of Ferrar's secretaryship.



## ISAAC BARGRAVE, DEAN OF CANTERBURY

to Bargrave's appointment as royal chaplain—to Prince (as he then was) Charles. So far his politics had been popular, but as Dean of Canterbury on Boys' death, and after Charles' accession to the throne, Bargrave's outlook underwent a rapid, and a rabid, change. He had previously incurred discredit at Court by using the pulpit to advocate the Parliamentary point of view, but in 1627 we find him exploiting that vantage to urge compliance with Charles' arbitrary loans. As his temper waxed, Bargrave fell out, too, with his Chapter, and even with the Primate, Laud, himself, who constantly rebuked him for his "peevish differences," the "revilings in chapter," etc. Habitual high-handedness appears, indeed, to have set up an aggressive form of grandee complex, and he was soon pursuing with symptomatic obstinacy a claim for precedence over the Deans of Westminster and London. When the Long Parliament began to sit, its leaders were well aware of Bargrave as a special bugbear, and in his "case" the bill for the abolition of deans and chapters may well have germinated. Against this project he presented in the House petitions from Cambridge University, etc. (May 1641), but, though the bill was finally let fall, Bargrave, as a prominent member of Convocation, had been fined £1000. His unpopularity was thus further advertised, and on the outbreak of civil war in August 1642 the Deanery was assailed and his wife and children "cruelly outraged," Bargrave, who had been absent, being himself cast presently into prison. Though soon released, he was a broken man and, dying in January 1642-3, was buried in the Deans' chapel of Canterbury Cathedral. There, like Boys, he was commemorated by a monument (erected in 1679) which "mainly consisted of a portrait... attributed to Cornelius Jansen, painted on copper, with an inscription recording his virtues, his learning, and his intimacy with foreigners and with the English nobility. An engraving of the portrait appears in Dart's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, 1726 (p. 58)."

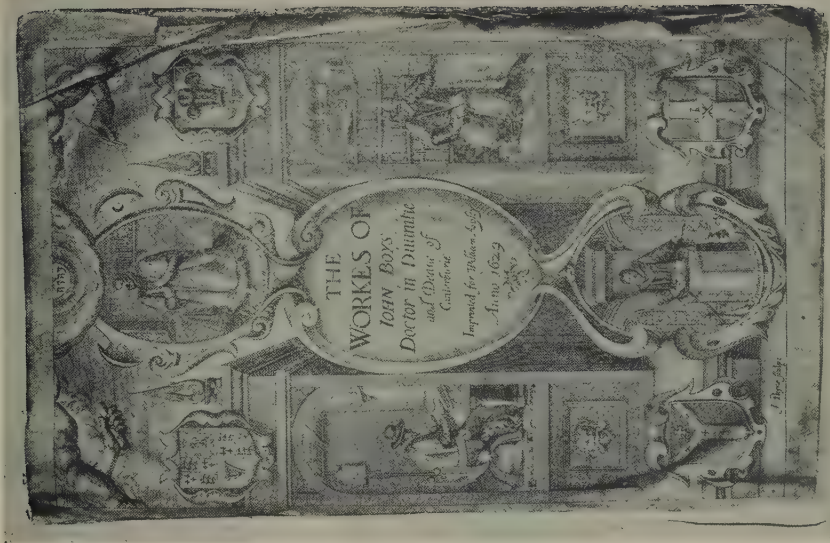
Bargrave's "intimacy with foreigners" reminds one of the bolder recreations recorded in *Who's Who*—e.g. "talking with soldiers"—but the allusion was, no doubt, chiefly to his friendship with Padre Paolo, the author of the *History of the Council of Trent*. His virtues were trumpeted by Wotton, who, writing from Venice, commended his "discretion and zeale" to the King and who left him in his will (in 1637) "all his Italian books not otherwise bequeathed and his viol de gamba, 'which hath been,' says Wotton, 'twice with me in Italy, in which country I first contracted with him an unremovable affection.'" Of his learning, finally, as well as hospitality, Izaak Walton testifies in his *Life of Wotton*. At one time or another Bargrave held the livings of St Margaret's at Westminster and of Eythorne, Tenterden, Lydd and Chartham in Kent. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Dering and cousin of the eccentric Sir Edward Dering, whom he "encouraged in

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

the wooing of a rich widow in 1628-9, but," we read without surprise, "the relatives afterwards seriously disagreed on political subjects."

John Moore was born in 1646 at Sutton-juxta-Broughton, Leicestershire, his father being an ironmonger of Market Harborough, at the free school of which John received his early education. On 28 June 1662, he was admitted to Clare Hall, as "sizer and pupil to Mr Mowsse." B.A. 1665-6, M.A. 1669, D.D. Cambridge 1681, Oxford 1673, he became a Fellow of Clare on the Freeman Foundation in 1667, was made Bishop of Norwich in 1691, and translated to the bishopric of Ely in 1707. Till 1677 Moore retained his Fellowship, his particular delight at this time being in medicine. His preferment began with chaplainship to Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham, who became Lord Keeper in 1673 and Lord Chancellor two years later; but, like Boys a century earlier, Moore was needed in London as a popular preacher, and his occupation (1676-87) of the rectory of Blaby, in Leicestershire, terminated with his appointment (after officiating at the new church of St Anne's, Soho) to the rectory first of St Austin-at-the-Gate, next of St Andrew's, Holborn (1689-91). The favour of William and Mary before whom, as royal chaplain, he often preached, led to the see of Norwich, which he held from 1691 for sixteen years; but his passage to the wealthier see of Ely was despite Queen Anne, who did not love Moore's political whiggery and keen support of the low church party. He was now able to rehabilitate, with the special object of housing his library, the episcopal mansion in Ely Place, Holborn; and here, Thoresby tells us in his *Diary*, he was never so happy as when showing his wonderful books, which he would generously, moreover, place at the disposal not only of English divines and scholars, such as Bentley, Burnet and Strype, but even of leading continental savants. Whiston, too, like Burnet, a fellow-collegian, he assisted as an undergraduate with a considerable sum of money, and later with preferment. His connection with Bentley was both close and fatal, for as visitor of Trinity College he had to preside at the trial of Bentley, and in course of the long sittings at Ely House caught a cold from which he died, 31 July 1714. He had supported Bentley as candidate for the see of Chichester five years earlier, and even for the Mastership of Trinity, since he was a member of the Commission of Bishops who recommended him, but his executors found amongst his papers a draft sentence of deprivation from the latter office. To the ill wind, or draught, which caused Moore's death Bentley owed, it appears, twenty-eight additional years of his crudely masterly Mastership. Moore was buried on Ely at the north side of the choir, a monument being erected in its south aisle. By his first marriage, to Rose, daughter of Nevill Butler of Barnwell Priory, Cambridge, he had three sons and three





*From the volume in the College Library*

TITLE-PAGE OF THE WORKS  
OF JOHN BOYS

Dean of Canterbury, d. 1625



*From the painting in the Combination Room, probably by Kersseboom*

JOHN MOORE, 1646–1714

Bishop of Norwich, 1691, and of Ely, 1707



*Reproduced by courtesy from "Country Life" for 29 Jan. 1927*

NEWCASTLE HOUSE, LEWES, SUSSEX

Built by John Court in 1707



*Reproduced by courtesy from "Country Life" for 29 Jan. 1927*

SALOON AT NEWCASTLE HOUSE, LEWES

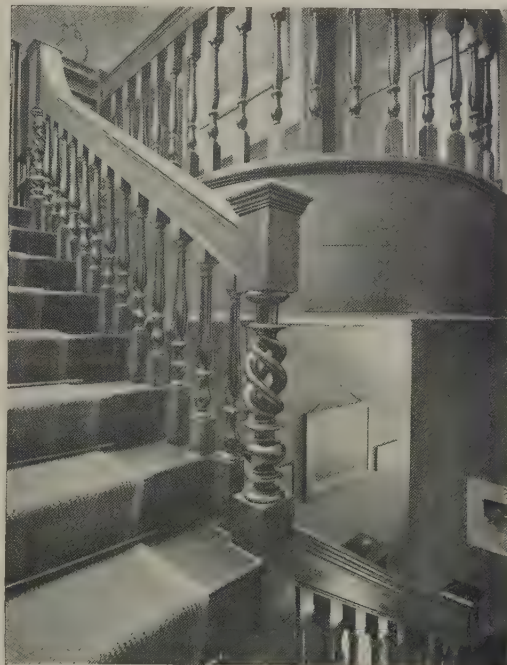




*Reproduced by courtesy from "Country Life" for 5 Feb. 1927*

A CHIMNEY-PIECE AT NEWCASTLE HOUSE, LEWES

"The house played an important part in the 18th century life of Lewes. John Court was persuaded by the Duke of Newcastle to give up a treasured possession so that the Duke could found here his political club-house. For upwards of forty years, as the New Coffee House, it was the stronghold of Whig politics, and its Assembly Rooms formed the liveliest social centre in the town." (*Quotation from "Country Life" for 29 Jan. 1927.*)



*Reproduced by courtesy from "Country Life" for 5 Feb. 1927*

STAIRCASE AT NEWCASTLE HOUSE  
LEWES



*From the miniature in the National Portrait Gallery*

MARTIN FOLKES

1690-1754

President of the Royal Society, 1741-52

President of the Society of Antiquaries, 1749-54



*T. Hudson pinx.*

*By courtesy of the Royal Society, from a photograph  
in the Victoria and Albert Museum*

GEORGE PARKER

1697-1764

2nd Earl of Macclesfield

President of the Royal Society, 1752-64



## JOHN MOORE, BISHOP OF ELY

daughters; by his second wife, daughter of William Barnes of Darlington, he had three more sons.

A dozen sermons by Moore were issued and re-issued in print, and are even said to have been translated into Dutch and published at Delft in 1700. The most popular, preached before Queen Mary in 1691-2, on the subject of religious melancholy, reached a seventh edition in 1708. But it is through his library, once famous throughout Europe, that Moore's memory is perpetuated. "At his death," writes W. P. Courtney in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "he had accumulated nearly 29,000 books and 1790 manuscripts, and Dibdin did not exaggerate in calling him 'the father of black-letter collectors in this country.' The scandalous stories repeated by one gossiping antiquary after another as to the means by which he formed his collection may be dismissed from consideration. . . . The library was offered to Lord Oxford [cf. footnote to Wimpole on page 66] for £8000, and on his refusal to purchase was sold for 6000 guineas to George I, who gave it, on the instigation of Lord Townshend, to the University of Cambridge," in the Library of which, be it noted, there repose "the bishop's *unpublished* diaries, numerous letters to him, and his private accounts." This notable gift being soon followed by the despatch of a squadron of horse to Oxford, for the arrest there of certain Jacobite officers, occasioned two famous epigrams, the initiative coming from Oxford:

The king, observing with judicious eyes  
The state of both his Universities,  
To one he sends a regiment; for why?  
That *learned* body wanted *loyalty*.  
To t'other books he gave, as well discerning  
How much that *loyal* body wanted *learning*.

The retort came from Sir William Browne, founder of the prizes for Greek and Latin odes and epigrams:

The King to Oxford sent his troop of horse:  
For Tories own no *argument* but *force*.  
With equal care, to Cambridge books he sent:  
For Whigs allow no *force* but *argument*.

By Moore Clare Library was more directly benefited, as we know from books that bear the giver's autograph, and from the address presented by the College on June 15, 1708, the occasion of his first episcopal visitation of Cambridge. His munificent gifts to the Library are there recorded, together with a donation of £50 to the College building fund. *A propos* his first marriage, we quote this pleasing letter to Dr Blithe, who had recently been elected Master of Clare Hall:

Sr,

I have intentions to be at Barnwell on Monday night, & y<sup>e</sup> next day to consummate my love affair, which has bin so long depending. I have great desire to be married by you, & shall (if y<sup>n</sup> be

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

under no obligations at y<sup>t</sup> time) own it as a singular favour, if you will please on Tuesday morning to walke over thither privatly & performe y<sup>t</sup> act of kindness for us.

I am S<sup>r</sup> your  
Very faithful S<sup>r</sup><sup>t</sup>  
J. Moore.

19 Apr. 79.

Three portraits of Moore exist, one of them in middle life, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, being at Lambeth Palace, with copies in the College Lodge, at Ely Palace, and in the University Library. The latest of these portraits is in the Combination Room, and shows its subject well advanced in years. This rather decorative painting may be the work of Kersseboom.

Clare is connected with architecture proper rather through persons who figure as intelligent patrons and promoters of building than as themselves either practising or authoritatively critical architects. Though it is unlikely that he actually designed them, the name of Barnabas Oley is as inseparably connected with the east and south ranges of Old Court and the disposition of its tiers of living rooms, as the name of Robert Grumbold with the more monumental west front and communal north block. Oley's friend Ferrar had a proficient knowledge of many of the applied arts, but if the uncouth tower of Leighton Bromswold church is really his (see Chapter IX), his gifts as an architect are highly dubious. Newcastle, a patron-builder on the eighteenth-century<sup>1</sup> scale, was a friend of Vanbrugh, and should have had at any rate solid taste. John Penn (1760-1834), grandson of the great William, was also, through the half-century following Newcastle's, a patron-builder of this type, but had, no doubt, more time to participate in the travails of his eminent employés. In the 1780's he built for himself at Schuyl Hill, Pennsylvania, the house called Solitude—a phrase that 'sounds' like a certain kind of uplift essay. His father had purchased in 1760 Stoke Poges Park, in Buckinghamshire, and the house having fallen into disrepair, Penn started erecting a new one in 1789, from designs by Nasmith which were completed by James Wyatt. This mansion, constructed in the centre of its park, is now the magnificent club-house

<sup>1</sup> In his sparkling little guide to Cambridge, Mr Noel Barwell writes: "it is still fashionable to believe the Church and both the Universities to have passed the whole of these 100 years [the eighteenth century] in a species of post-prandial slumber. . . . Truly the manners of the time were not very nice; but the impartial student of morals can well trace throughout the century a steady, if slow, revival from that dire sort of profligacy which marked the social life of the Stuart period. For the first time since the age of the Tudors, English architecture and the other arts. . . attained the dignity of a conscious and coherent style. . . an intelligent taste in furniture, plate, porcelain and fabrics became almost general in decent Society. Music was widely cultivated. . . " etc.

One admirable practice, of getting an artist to 'do the family,' might well have been extended to 'the Combination Room.' What a pity no Zoffany seems to have been employed by High Tables or their coteries. No less curious is the rarity of oil paintings of the colleges (cf. our frontispiece).



## ARCHITECTURE: W. H. WARD. MUSIC

of a golf course which was laid out around it by a still living athletic *alumnus* of the College, inceptor of a new form of architecture, that of the golf course—Mr H. S. Colt. But Penn's *furor aedificandi* was not yet sated, and about 1804 he caused to rise, this time on Portland island (Dorset), and again to Wyatt's design, a mansion appellated "Pennsylvania Castle." It was perhaps on the strength of this achievement that he was appointed Governor of Portland in 1805; two portraits of him in oils (one of them, in yeomanry uniform, by Sir W. Beechey)<sup>1</sup> were still at "Pennsylvania Castle" thirty years ago.

To find an actual architect of any distinction<sup>2</sup>, we have to come down to modern times, and to a Clare man who died no less recently than 1924. William Henry Ward was the son of the Rev. W. S. Ward, Perpetual Curate of Iver near Uxbridge. He was educated at Repton, and came up to Clare in 1884; he was a Scholar of the College and took his B.A. degree (2nd Class in the Classical Tripos) in 1887, and M.A. in 1892.

Chairman of the Church Crafts League, his special sphere was as a designer of Church work. He built the church at Fazakerly in conjunction with Mr Cogswell, and a school at Weston-super-Mare, and designed numerous crosses and other war memorials; especially to be noted is a triptych at West Drayton.

But it was as a writer that Ward won the most enduring fame. Besides numerous articles in architectural papers, in his *French Chateaux and Gardens of the 16th century* (1909) he reproduced a valuable series of contemporary sixteenth-century drawings (which he discovered in the British Museum) by Jacques Androuet du Cerceaux, and published in 1911 *The Architecture of the Renaissance in France* (two vols.), a book which is invaluable to the student of French Architecture.

Ward's knowledge of this particular subject was probably unique. Of course he was a first-rate French scholar, but he also knew German and Italian well. He was at his death engaged upon a history of his native parish of Iver.

Though then nearly fifty, Ward joined the New Army in 1914, and went through the horror of the trenches with the utmost fortitude. By hastening his death, the hardships of that time cut short what must have been the most mature and productive period of his life's work.

Though Clare men have done much for music in immediately recent generations—since 1800, we may more neatly put it—our knowledge of earlier musical *alumni* is meagre in the extreme. There is nothing, in the present state of our

<sup>1</sup> The other, unless we are mistaken, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, was sold at auction in London some fifteen years ago for 1200 guineas. For this the College bid, but unsuccessfully.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. obituary notices in *The Times* (March 17, 1924), *The Sphere*, and *The Church Times*.

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

enlightenment, to record between 1803 and 1601, when Richard Charlton, by publishing a collection of madrigals, became an early harbinger of the College's predilection to study the art of song. Charlton had become a pensioner in 1574, B.A. in 1577-8, and by a curiously happy stroke it is in his student decade that we also discover another Clare Richard, harbinger, whose achievement (if correctly attributed) as a ballad writer forestalls our other leading musical and quasi-musical bias—to preserve and popularise the music (libretto as well as tune) and, with the music, the dance, of 'Folk.'

"Richard Jackson (*fl.* 1570), ballad writer," to rest on the authority of the *Dictionary of National Biography*,

matriculated from Clare Hall, 25 Oct., 1567, proceeded B.A. 1570, and was shortly afterwards appointed Master of Ingleton School, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The authorship of the well-known ballad on the battle of Flodden Field, supposed to have been written about 1570, has been generally ascribed to him, either on the ground of vague tradition or from the fact that Ingleton borders on the Craven district, in the dialect of which the poem is written. Apart from its historical interest<sup>1</sup> the ballad is valuable as a spirited example of early [*sic*] alliterative poetry. We gather from the opening lines that the author was no novice at ballad-writing, while the partiality constantly shown for the house of Stanley and the Lancastrian forces seems to indicate some connection between the author and the Stanley family.

Of this lengthy chronicle-ballad of Flodden fight the earliest existing MS. (Harl. MS. 3526) does not probably predate *circa* 1636. The first printed edition appeared in 1664. Three more editions followed in the eighteenth century, and two, more critical, in the nineteenth—the editors being Gent, 1756 (Ritson's "old Gent of York"); Lambe, 1773; Joseph Benson, "philomath," 1774; Henry Weber, Edinburgh, 1808; and Charles Q. Federer, 1884. Of Weber's edition we have just secured for the College Library a copy, in which the MS. title of the ballad is given in full, viz.:

Heare is the famous historie or songe called Floodan Field; in it shalbe declare how, whyle Kinge Henrie the Eight was in France, the King of Scoots, called James, the fowerth of that name, invaded the realme of England; etc. etc.

The title of the very rare 1664 edition runs *Floddan Field, in Nine Fits . . .*, etc., but Weber notes (p. 124) "the division of the poem is very indeterminate; for the Fits generally end in the middle of a sentence. We must attribute this not to the poet but to the reciters; for, that romances and chronicles, which always went hand in hand, were recited, is undeniable. . . ." The word Fit, by the way, is habitually altered into Fight by one eighteenth-century transcriber, however placid or pre-martial the subject-matter. In Weber's preface acknowledgment is made

<sup>1</sup> Weber notes in the preface of his 1808 edition "the unadorned and faithful way in which the battle is narrated, and the minute detail given of circumstances either but slightly touched on by historians, or utterly unnoticed by them."



## RICHARD JACKSON, BALLAD WRITER

for much assistance to "Walter Scott, Esq."; it should be remarked, too, that Weber held as "utterly untenable" the ballad's attribution "to a Yorkshire school-master," and contends of the anonymous author that "ballad-inditing was probably his principal if not his sole occupation."

Anyhow, we can agree with this editor that, though the general conduct of the poem be too prolix...there are not wanting passages which evince considerable vigour of versification and spirit of narration, and are certain indications of the abilities of the author to have composed a poem of greater merit in point of execution. His object was certainly not posthumous reputation; but to procure his fellow-countrymen of the north of England...an accurate and minute account of a victory, in which they had gained so much renown.

The frequency, both structural and no doubt mnemonic, of the alliteration, the attack it imparts to recitative, and, more subtly affective, the curiously substantial impact here and there, of alliterative onomatopoeia, will all be noticed in one or other or all of the excerpts with which we may conclude:

Verse 3 of Fit the Second: the Scots prepare for battle:

Some made a mell of massy lead,  
Which iron all about did bind;  
Some made a helmet for the head  
And some their grisly gisarings grind.

And later:

In midst of ranks there rode the king  
On stately steed which stoutly stamp'd,  
A goodly sight to see him fling,  
And how his foamy bits he champ'd.

In Fit the Fifth, the English assemble, and especially the Yorkshire dalesmen:

Whose milk-fed fellows fleshly bred  
Well bound, with sounding bows upbend....

Fit the Sixth ends dourly on the strength of the Scots host's first position:

So strong that no man's study or skill,  
To fight with him could find a way.  
Such mountains steep, such craggy hills,  
His army on th' one side inclose;  
The other side great grizzly gills  
Did fence with fenny mire and moss.

With Fit the Eighth the battle opens:

Then ordinance great anon out brast,  
On either side with thundering thumps;  
And roaring guns with fire fast  
Then levelled out great leaden lumps.  
With rumbling rage thus Vulcan's art  
Began this field and fearful fight;  
But the arch-gunner on the English part,  
The master Scot did mark so right,

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That he with bullet brast his brain,  
And hurl'd his heels his head above:  
Then piped he such a peel again  
The Scots be from their ordinance drove.

Hand-to-hand fighting next:

Then spears and pikes to work was put,  
And blows with bills most dure was delt,  
And many a cap of steel through cut,  
And swinging swaps made many swelt.

Best of all, however, is the description near the close of Fit the Seventh, when the Scottish army changes ground in the manœuvre which precipitates the battle:

By north there was another hill,  
Which Branxton-hill is called by name;  
The Scots anon did scoure there till,  
Lest the Englishmen should get the same.

The litter which they left behind,  
And other filth, on fire they set;  
Whose dusty smoke the wrastling wind  
Even straight between the armies bet.

Still on the height the Scots them held;  
The Englishmen march on below;  
The smothering smoke the light so feald,  
That neither army other saw.

At length the weather waxed clear  
And smoke consumed within a while;  
Now both the hosts in distance were  
Not past a quarter of a mile.

But Jackson and Charlton were early flashes in our musical pan. Continuous history, so to speak, begins two centuries later, with a letter written in 1803 by the Rev. James Plumptre, M.A., Fellow of Clare Hall, from Hinxton Vicarage, to Dr Charles Hague, Professor of Music in Cambridge University. To quote from an article called "Cambridge, Morals and Music," by D. D. Arundell, which appeared in *The Cambridge Review* for 23 October 1925:

This illuminating epistle forms an introduction to a no less interesting book edited by these two gentlemen under the title of "A Collection of Songs, *Moral, Sentimental, Instructive and Amusing*."

The writer, seeing that "the poorer sort of both sexes are daily tempted to all manner of wickedness by infamous ballads sung in every corner of the streets," is anxious to show that a man can be merry and wise at the same time, and thinks that "even the common ballad-singers in the streets might be rendered instruments useful under the controul of a well-regulated Police.... If, in addition to this, moral lessons could occasionally be conveyed, shewing in language familiar to their habits, the advantages of *Industry* and *Frugality*. . . the disgrace and ruin attached to drunkenness and dishonesty [undignified by either capitals or italics] and the glory and happiness of a *good Husband*, a *good Father*, and an *honest Man*, might it not reasonably be expected, that in a religious, as well as a moral point of view, advantages would be gained, while the people were both instructed and amused?"



## JAMES PLUMPTRE: SABINE BARING-GOULD

The songs that are here given as suitable for police-dispensation preclude all unchristian "wickedness and trash" and even "derry-downs" and "tol de rols" are omitted "as unmeaning impertinence." Corrections are made in the reprinted songs:—*lares* become *angels*, 'I don't care a d—m!' is made "equally appropriate and less objectionable" by a simple alteration into 'I don't mind your bam' (or 'banter,' as the reverend gentleman is careful to explain). In the song of "Father and I" . . . the young man *swore* when he had much better only have *said*. . . In the "Converted Rake," verse one, is "*d—m me*, for which we had much better read *thank ye*. . . And, however true it may be, that sailors find 'in every port a wife,' and a soldier 'in each town, to some new wife, swears he'll ever be true,' yet it is not that part of their character which I would mention at all, or at least without censure.

"Ne'er be drunk again," "Chaste Love," "The generous Soul," and songs of the happiness of a humble life and of the worth of "the domestical Cow" may have improved the morals and religion of the Hinxtonites of 1803, but their musical taste cannot have been improved. It is instructive to gather from the list of subscribers the moral—I cannot say, musical—strength of the colleges at this time. Twenty-three Johnians bought copies, twenty Trinity men, including the Vice-Master, and twelve from Clare Hall. The rest merely accounted for forty—an average of under four copies per college, the order of morality being:—Queens', Caius, King's, Jesus, Emmanuel, Magdalene, Christ's, Peterhouse, Pembroke, Trinity Hall and Bene't Hall.

Plumptre's other great enthusiasms were for the Drama and for Great Gransden, which living he held from 1812–1832. He was the youngest son of Robert Plumptre, D.D., President of Queens', and was born in that college's Lodge in 1771. Entering Queens' at the early age of sixteen in 1787, he migrated to Clare on his father's death in 1790, and graduated thence B.A. in 1792, M.A. in 1795, having become a Fellow of Clare in 1793. He became sequestrator of Hinxton in 1794 and there resided till 1805. An actor himself, he wrote a comedy, a tragedy, and a comic opera, *The Lakers*, and published his *Original Dramas* in 1818. But in drama, too, he was equally chary of taking any risks, and it was all too unremittingly as "a moral educator" that he "advocated the claims of the stage," in his *Four Discourses relating to the Stage* (published in 1809 after having been preached from the pulpit by the University Church in 1808), and in *The English Drama purified*, a selection of expurgated plays, 3 vols., 1812. Less questionable were such practical humanitarian activities as the furtherance of humane killing (*The Experienced Butcher*, 1816), and of vaccine inoculation, about which, in the first year of his diaconate, Plumptre preached a sermon in the University Church—he was wont to vaccinate with his own hands parishioners at Hinxton and Gransden. His Diaries, dating from 1804 to 1824, give minute particulars of his daily life, and it is to be regretted that the author of *Great Gransden* did not live to effect their contemplated publication. So lengthy a treatment here of such a comparatively obscure celebrity may seem invidious, and doubly so when we allow that we have recognised in Plumptre a heaven-sent foil to the subject of our next biography. It is, however, in relation to the ethics of editorial inclusion, a matter less of personalities than of attitudes, and Baring-Gould would easily have under-

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stood how to accept, as the uplift avoirdupois of Plumptre could never have done, the conclusions of the article in *The Cambridge Review*:

Music and morals have little in common beyond their initial letter. Indeed, the musical level of popular songs became rapidly lower as the tone of the sentiments were raised. I do not dare to suggest that the Rev. James Plumptre and Dr Hague did harm by their Collection. It is only too obvious in every line of the Introductory Letter and Postscript to the Reader that they were acting from the very highest motives. Hinxton may be a far more moral village than it was, alas, in their day, but I am certain that the music of the popular song was seriously damaged by them and by their imitators.

Our next biographee, likewise a country clergyman, equally ubiquitous in his desire to aid and stimulate, and equally open, we may candidly remark, to the charge of having too many irons in the fire, had also too much fire to let his irons shackle him.

It is impossible within the limits of a brief sketch to do full justice to a writer so versatile, so broad-minded and so sympathetic as the late Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould, Honorary Fellow of the College, whose death in his 90th year occurred on 2 January 1924. Hymns and novels, history and topography, folk songs and medieval legends alike engaged his ready pen; in all departments he was conspicuous, even if he did not attain to the first rank. Probably he was as well known, and commanded as wide a circle of readers and admirers, as any writer of the present time. If his novels now make little appeal to modern taste, his *Lives of the Saints*—his principal work—is a storehouse of legend for those interested in such subjects, and the public at large will never fail to be thrilled by the march music of his hymns, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," "Through the night of doubt and sorrow," and others scarcely less familiar.

Sabine Baring-Gould was the eldest son of Edward Baring-Gould, of Lew Trenchard, and Charlotte Sophia his wife, daughter of Admiral F. Godolphin Bond, R.N. He was born on 28 January 1834 at Exeter, and was educated first at King's College School, and then at Warwick Grammar School. After a short course of study at Pau, in France, he was admitted to Clare in 1852, proceeding B.A. in 1857, M.A. in 1860.

After spending some time in foreign travel, Baring-Gould was ordained in 1864 to a curacy at Horbury near Wakefield; he became Vicar of Dalton, Yorks, in 1866, and Rector of East Mersea, Essex, in 1871. On his father's death in 1872 he succeeded to the family estates at Lew Trenchard, a village a little to the north of Dartmoor, and to the Rectory of the parish, when his uncle, the incumbent, died in 1881—exercising his privilege as Patron to present himself. There he spent the rest of his long life, loved and looked up to by all about him.

In 1868 he had married Grace, daughter of Joseph Taylor, a mill-hand at



## FOLK-MUSIC: BARING-GOULD

Horbury, with whom he had fallen in love in his first curacy and whom he had persuaded her father to have educated at York. Truly a romantic match, but a singularly happy one. Mrs Baring-Gould by her charm won the affection of all whom she met, and her death in April 1916 was a bitter grief to all who knew her.

Baring-Gould's various publications amount in all to nearly eighty, and include a matter of some forty novels; a prodigious output even for a life of well-nigh four score years and ten.

His chief work—and one which caused the inclusion of his name in the *Index Expurgatorius*—was his *Lives of the Saints*, over which he spent five years of labour, from 1872 to 1877; but no doubt it is his interest in 'folk'—his special hobby—which will make the strongest appeal to members of a College whose chief distinction in the nineteenth century posterity *may* think of as deriving from the least academic of its sons' preoccupations.

Immense as were the services of Bishop Percy, compiler of the *Reliques of English Poetry*, and of other enthusiasts in the past, we may perhaps with justice say that the first sustained attempt to collect the traditional songs of England was made by Baring-Gould, in collaboration with the late Rev. H. Fleetwood Sheppard and Dr F. W. Bussell of Brasenose. The collection was published in 1891 as *Songs of the West*, its musical editor being Cecil Sharp. *A Garland of Country Song* appeared in 1894, and in 1895 the first volume of *English Minstrelsy*—Messrs Sheppard and Bussell once more the musical collaborators. About 1905 Baring-Gould and Sharp published *English Folk Songs for Schools*, the first book to introduce the singing of folk-songs into our elementary schools. In this work Sharp gratefully acknowledges the help that he received from two old Clare men who have since deceased, the Rev. J. A. Sorby and the Rev. Archdeacon Colin Campbell, and from one, too, who may long, we hope, be with us—Clive Carey.

For carol singing, as might have been presumed, Baring-Gould had a special passion. Many of us must have read with surprise and admiration his English rendering of an old Basque carol, "Hasten to Bethlehem," which appeared in *The Daily Telegraph* of 15 December 1922. It is pleasant to know that this, his latest carol, was sung to him by members of the family and of the village choir that Christmas morning in the corridor outside his room.

One outstanding incident in Mr Baring-Gould's life must not be omitted. A good many years ago (in the summer of 1906 to be precise) a telegram from South Africa announced the death of one "S. Baring-Gould." A flourishing crop of press obituaries at once sprung up, only to wither beneath the laconic actuality that the deceased was a mere namesake. We can picture to ourselves the delight with which a man of his temperament would peruse the various appreciations of his life and work.

## ALUMNI, CHIEFLY LITERARY AND ARTISTIC

We may refer, in conclusion, to an incident of his undergraduate life at Clare.

Baring-Gould's rooms were in the corner of the ground-floor of staircase D. His passion for writing had even then developed, and there he wrote in 1854 his earliest novel, *The Chorister*, published by Meadows on the King's Parade. In this he described the removal of the stained glass from the windows of King's Chapel to save it from Cromwell's soldiers, and the shooting of a boy at the high altar for refusing to reveal the place where it had been concealed. It appears that the University Library still possesses an autograph letter in which Baring-Gould expresses his regret that the "hoax" should not yet be forgotten: a regret which probably occasioned the omission of *The Chorister* from his list of publications in *Who's Who*<sup>1</sup>.

Cecil Sharp was born in London on 23 November 1859, one of the eleven children of a prosperous slate-merchant whose unstinted enthusiasm for the arts (especially architecture) imparted itself delightfully, and in one case memorably, to his extensive family. Almost the chief memory of Cecil Sharp's days at Uppingham was of the week-ends with his father in a dog-cart, visiting the great churches of the eastern counties. At school<sup>2</sup>, also, his taste for music was developed. He left Uppingham early because of an outbreak of typhoid and, after three years of private tutoring at Weston-super-Mare and Royston, entered Clare in 1879. While at College his bent for music definitely declared itself and he took the first examination for the Mus.Bac.; but by no means to the exclusion of more general interests, for he took his degree in Mathematics<sup>3</sup> and rowed in a College boat<sup>2</sup>.

On leaving Clare in 1883, Sharp sailed for Australia, apparently in a spirit of light-hearted adventure, but perhaps with some idea of turning his music to practical account, although he was no executant. Landing at Adelaide, he spent a short period in a bank, but he soon became Associate to the Chief Justice of South Australia, Sir Samuel Way, and held the office for some four years. His duties were mainly social, and gave him time to devote himself to organising the scattered musical talent of the colony. He became the conductor of the local Philharmonic Society and assisted in founding the Adelaide College of Music<sup>3</sup>, which he directed until he left for home in 1892. He had brought out in 1890 an opera with a libretto by Guy Boothby, and written *Nursery Songs* which were published in 1891 to 1893.

<sup>1</sup> For the bulk of this account we are indebted to the notice by Mr J. R. Wardale in *The Clare Association Annual* for 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Sharp had been at a preparatory school at Brighton. He rowed "3" in the College Boat of 1881, which started ninth on the river. He took his degree in 1883, after being *junior optime* in the Mathematical Tripos of 1882.

<sup>3</sup> Which formed the nucleus of the present Elder Conservatorium, of which Clive Carey was Director from 1924 to 1927.





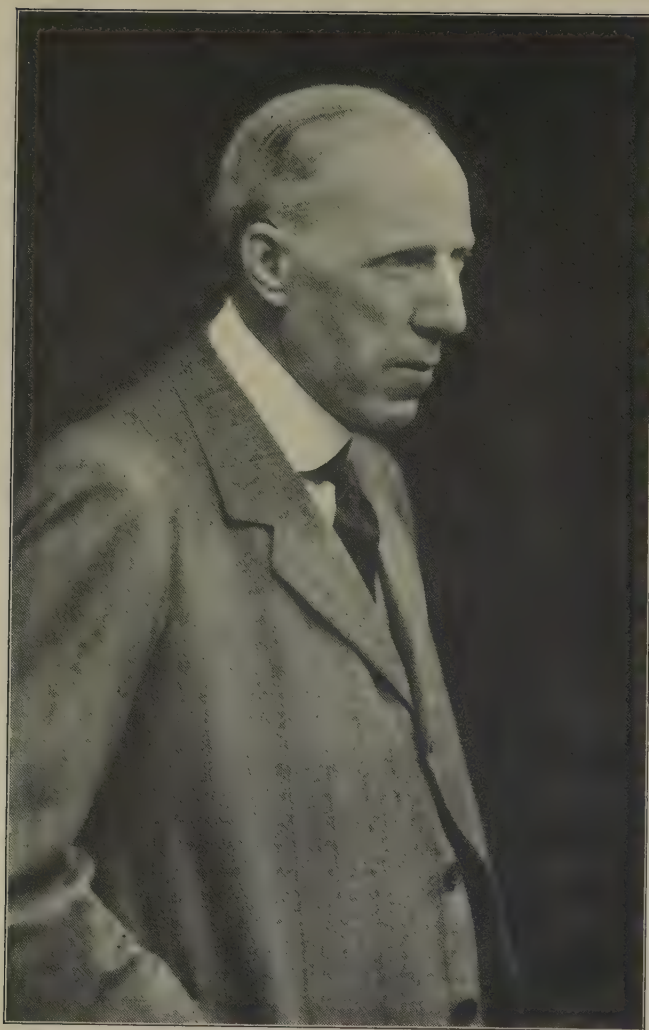
*From "The Return of the 'Mayflower'" (cf. Chap. IV)  
by J. Rendel Harris (Longmans, Green & Co. 1920)*

Early 17th-century gateway of Plymouth Citadel, the site suggested in 1920 by Dr J. Rendel Harris (cf. Chap. IV) for an Anglo-American University to celebrate the tercentenary of the sailing of the *Mayflower*.



*Copyright G. E. Briggs*

Pulpit of the early 17th century at Great Gransden; the gift of Barnabas Oley, and said to have been salvaged by him from the University Church during the troubles at the outset of the Great Civil War (cf. Chap. VIII).



*By courtesy of the English Folk Dance Society*

CECIL SHARP, 1859-1924



*By courtesy of the English Folk Dance Society*

CECIL SHARP COLLECTING FOLK SONG  
in the Appalachian Mountains,  
Virginia—Kentucky, U.S.A.



## FOLK-SONG AND FOLK-DANCE: CECIL SHARP

A year after his return to England he married Miss Constance Birch, and employed himself in London in much the same musical activities as he had created in Adelaide. From 1893 to 1897 he conducted the Finsbury Choral Association, from 1896 to 1905 he directed the Hampstead Conservatoire, and during the whole period from 1893 to 1910 he taught music to the boys of Ludgrove. He was also musical tutor to the Royal Family. With immensely wide interests and a happy ease in all grades of society<sup>1</sup>, he threw himself actively into the work of musical instructor and propagandist but, though his achievement, especially at Hampstead, was notable in many ways, it was not until he became immersed in folk-song that he found the decided bent which his whole-hearted, enthusiastic nature needed.

He came to folk-song through his teaching at Ludgrove. Like John Farmer of Harrow, he believed in saturating the boys with a multitude of songs and encouraging spontaneous happy singing. For this, and not less because they were genuinely English, he seized eagerly the folk-songs which were then being collected by a small band of enthusiasts and he included some of them in the *Book of British Songs for Home and School* which he produced in 1902. More still, he gained the conviction that the songs then published could only be a fraction of those still

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following from the article in *Country Life* referred to below: "He had many amusing stories about his work. One which he delighted in telling happened in a small town in Somersetshire. He made his usual enquiries, and discovered that an elderly woman, living in one of the lowest parts of the town, was known to be a singer. He was warned that the row of houses in one of which she lived was occupied by 'the bad people,' but, nothing daunted, he made his way there. The lady was out, but he gathered that she would probably be found at the public-house at the corner of the row. He went on and found a number of women talking together; approaching them, he asked if they knew Mrs So-and-So; whereupon one of them exclaimed, 'That's my name; what do you want with me?' Mr Sharp said he had heard that she knew some old songs and wanted her to sing them to him; whereupon, to his intense surprise, the woman suddenly seized him by the middle and began vigorously dancing him round and round on the pavement in front of the 'pub,' calling out, 'Lor, girls, here's my beau come and wants me to zing to un.' In the midst of this giddy whirl he suddenly heard, 'Why, surely that is Mr Sharp!' and casting his eyes in the direction of the voice, he saw the vicar, with whom he was staying, and the vicar's daughter, gazing in horror at the scene. When I asked Sharp what he did, he said, 'O! I called out to them, "Go away, go away!" so they went.' This hilarious introduction led to his obtaining a large number of admirable songs from the old folk-song lady, at whose house he subsequently became a welcome visitor.

"Sharp's natural enthusiasm was surely the secret of his success, for 'traditional singers' are fearful of being laughed at, and fight shy of singing their songs to strangers. But he soon secured not only their songs but their confidences. One old man said to him, 'Volks come a zinging they comic zongs, and I don't know they, and they won't hearken to the old-vashioned zongs, our tunes be out of vashion... Volk likes a gabble o' noise with no meanun to it.' They are also very critical of the way other people sing their songs; one criticised Sharp's singing by saying, 'You don't tell the song, same as we do.' Shortly after 'Blow away the morning dew' was published he happened to see the old lady who sang it to him, and she told him with great glee that she had 'heard un zung by the vicar's lady last Saturday night in the school-room, she played her own zinging, and that be a very good plan to hide up when her voice did valter like.' Sharp asked what she thought of it, and she continued, 'It zounded very nice and pretty; once, now and then, a bit out, but there, there, nothing that anyone would laugh at.' For the dances, too, he would elicit easily the *nuances* of 'the spirit of the thing'—e.g. that a morris should be executed 'with plenty of brisk but no excitement,' or that 'bells are chosen with great care for their variety of tune.' One old morris dancer told Sharp that he would often pay as much as a guinea for his bells."

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awaiting collection. A South Australian friend, the Rev. C. L. Marson, summoned him to Hambridge in Somerset to hear from one of the villagers the "Seeds of Love." From that date in 1903 he had found his life's work. Using every available moment of a busy life, he searched Somerset for songs, noting them with his astonishingly rigorous accuracy and selecting with fastidious taste. He is said to have collected within the next few years some 1500 songs and variants (and altogether some 5000). Nor did collecting and noting satisfy him. His original idea of finding something which England had sung and would naturally sing again never deserted him. He published and lectured, and deliberately rejecting both the archaism which might have jealously kept the songs as choice relics of a bygone atmosphere and the virtuosity which might translate them into the idioms of contemporary harmonies, he sought to popularise them by giving them just so much accompaniment as might make them singable by the ordinary man without altering their own essential character.

His *Songs from Somerset* were published in five parts from 1904 to 1919. In 1905 he brought out a new edition of Baring-Gould's *Songs of the West*. His longest book, *English Folk-Songs, some conclusions*, was published in 1907. In the same year he began with the first part of his *Morris Book* the long series of publications of traditional dances, Morris, Sword and Country, which mark the second period of his activity. He had seen genuine traditional Morris dancing as far back as 1899 at Headington<sup>1</sup> near Oxford and had noted the tune, but for long he was baffled by the difficulty of recording the steps and figures. No such obstacle had existed in the case of the folk-songs, while the difficulty of collecting the dances was also greater because the work of a whole team had often to be pieced together from the movements and memory of one old man. However, when once collected and made accessible the dances were caught up eagerly. At first they were chiefly

<sup>1</sup> A vivid article by W. Shuldham Shaw on the work of Sharp appeared in *Country Life* for January 2nd, 1926, under the title "Songs and Dances of the English Folk." We quote from this, by kind permission, the opening paragraph:

"The story begins very seasonably, at Christmas time in a little English village with snow lying thick on the ground.

"Cecil Sharp happened to be spending Christmas, 1899, at Headington in Oxfordshire, and on Boxing Day morning he caught the sound of a concertina in the distance. As it came nearer, it struck him what a fine swinging tune it was playing, and he listened intently. Presently, the player and a team of six strapping young countrymen hove into view and, with ribbons flying and bells jingling, began dancing in the snow in front of the house where he was staying. Not only was the tune stirring and exciting, but the dance was too. Six men footing it as one, eager and vigorous, but restrained and dignified; their movements demanding the utmost agility and control, yet performed with that absolute ease which is the hall-mark of perfect technique. He suddenly realised that here was a great art hidden in the obscurity of a little English village, its existence unsuspected by the majority, and its importance unrealised by the few who knew of it. To a man who loved English traditions as loyally as Cecil Sharp this seemed deplorable, and he determined that his fellow-countrymen should, at any rate, be given the opportunity to share in his 'find.' He wrote down the tune then and there, but was [then] nonplussed for a means of finding notation for the dance."



## FOLK-SONG AND FOLK-DANCE: CECIL SHARP

disseminated by the girls of the Espérance Club under Miss Mary Neal, with whose friend, Mr H. McIlwaine, Sharp began their publication. Fearing that a too rapid dissemination would lead to formless and meaningless romping, and thus bring about an equally speedy decline, Sharp founded in 1911 the English Folk Dance Society, in order to ensure that by properly controlled teaching the dances should retain the features of purity, restraint and vigour which belonged to the well-schooled tradition of the Morris and Sword Dance, and of gay simplicity which he associated with the Country Dance. These were the qualities, moreover, in which he was convinced that the English spirit most naturally found expression. With help from the Chelsea Polytechnic and vacation schools, at first at Stratford-on-Avon and later in many centres, a large body of dancers were carefully taught, who in their turn formed centres in every part of England. To the work of organising, directing and controlling this enthusiasm Sharp henceforth devoted untiring energy, travelling constantly, lecturing, judging, and himself dancing or accompanying the dancers, while in quieter moments he was forcing from the crabbed directions of Playford and his successors the secrets of the seventeenth-century country dances. These, equally English with the Morris or the Sword Dance, had found their way into the drawing-rooms of Europe, but after some two centuries of mutation had become even more inaccessible than the more purely traditional dances of which some performers still survived.

During the war Sharp was invited to the United States. There he chanced upon his most sensational discovery. Under the guidance of Mrs Olive Campbell he found in the Appalachian Mountains a remote and backward people, almost if not quite illiterate, whose one means of artistic expression and of social enjoyment was in singing the unwritten ballads which their seventeenth- or eighteenth-century ancestors had brought from England. Again, at great personal inconvenience, Sharp threw himself into the task of collecting and recording; and his harvest, of which he was only able to publish about a third, amounted to some thousand airs and variants. Of these several were entirely 'new' and had been thought lost for ever.

Great as was the stimulus of this surprising discovery, the influence of the conditions under which the songs were sung was even greater. Sharp had no illusions about some distressing features of Appalachian life, but he was even more delighted with the courtesy, independence and natural ease of the unspoiled, or, as he would have said, unsophisticated singers than with the songs themselves. He returned to England with the sense of having caught a glimpse of the ideal<sup>1</sup> 'folk' in the flesh,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Preface to *Folk-songs from the Southern Appalachian Mountains* by Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil Sharp. Cf. also the Cecil Sharp memorial number of the *Journal of the English Folk Dance Society*, which contains a great variety of interesting and enthusiastic descriptions of Sharp and of his methods.

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and an even firmer conviction in the value of the qualities which he described in the true folk song and dance. He found on his return that while the war had claimed his ablest and earliest helpers, on whom he had relied for dancing, criticism and eventually continuing his work, the enthusiasm for folk-dance had increased considerably, and this entailed upon him even more constant work in controlling the spirit which he had called forth. In 1919 he found a new opening for the spread of his influence. The then President of the Board of Education, Mr H. A. L. Fisher, invited him to the service of the Board. Seeing in the Training College for teachers the widest opportunity to influence directly and indirectly the youth of the country, he acted for three years as occasional Inspector of Training Colleges, visiting and encouraging them when they desired it, just as he visited the branches of his own society. The moderate remuneration attached to this office, joined to the now appreciable royalties on his publications, at last gave him some security in his affairs, which he had utterly neglected ever since he had begun the collection of folk-song. He therefore relinquished the Civil List pension which had been granted to him some years before. The only other official recognition of his labours was the degree of Master of Music *honoris causa* which he was proud to receive from his own University on 8 June 1923<sup>1</sup>; but perhaps his greatest reward was the delight with which the delegates from the Dominions to the Empire Educational Conference of that year witnessed a special performance of folk dance and song arranged by Mr Edward Wood (now Lord Irwin and Viceroy of India) in their honour.

From that event Sharp planned further visits to the Dominions, but ill-health, the result of perpetual self-neglect and overwork, prevented him, and compelled him to turn to the quiet study, such as he had long desired, of other European dances which had sprung, like the English Country Dance, from the 'folk.' For this his experience in deciphering Playford and in devising a system of notation for his own dances peculiarly fitted him. A study of the father of choreographers, Troinot-Arbeau, has not yet seen the light, but a short and delightfully illustrated survey of European dancing was practically finished before his death, and appeared under the title of *The Dance*<sup>2</sup> in the same year. He died on 23 June 1924 at the age of 64.

Cecil Sharp bequeathed to Clare his notes and manuscripts as to one of the dearest of his own homes, and as the fitting resting-place for material which will be invaluable for all future workers on the subject. It will form there a perpetual memorial of a scholarship as painstaking and austere as any in the more familiar

<sup>1</sup> The Public Orator's speech on the occasion may be found in the succeeding issue of the *University Reporter*.

Completed and edited by his friend, Paul Oppé, the writer of our biography. [ED.]





THE REV. SABINE BARING-GOULD  
1834-1923  
Late Honorary Fellow of the College



*By courtesy of the English Folk Dance Society*

THE BAMPTON MORRIS DANCERS  
AND THEIR FIDDLER



*After the painting by Hogarth at Ickworth House*

*By courtesy of the Rt Hon. the Marquis of Bristol, and of "Country Life"*

JOHN, BARON HERVEY OF ICKWORTH, AND FRIENDS



## MUSIC: CECIL SHARP, DENIS BROWNE

fields. But perhaps even more deeply attaching to his University connection were the large-hearted universality of his interests and his sympathy with life as a whole and man's effort in every field. It was as a part of life that he was interested in art, and because he believed, without in any way belittling the work of conscious artists, that the art of the 'folk' sloughed off everything but the simple, the vital and the beautiful, that he threw himself into the work of reviving its remains for England. A lesser man or a more professional musician might perhaps have devoted his whole life to the task of collecting, editing and publishing; it needed his Tolstoy-like belief in the innate goodness of mankind to encourage him in the work—so far removed as a rule from a scholar's instincts—of guiding the enthusiasm and overcoming the indifference of a nation. It was this combination of energies which made him the true reviver<sup>1</sup> of folk-song and folk-dance in this country, though of the first at any rate he was not, and never claimed to be, the discoverer<sup>2</sup>. So far as the song is concerned, he lived to see himself justified in the English musical renaissance of recent years, which no less an authority than Dr Vaughan Williams traces very largely to his influence. The effect of the revival of the dances will be more complex, and time alone can show whether the present widespread pleasure in their performance will result, as Sharp sometimes hoped, in a change, spectacular as well as social, in the dances of the nation, or must await, possibly itself assisting, the return of a more golden age of society in which to regain a thorough hold. In any case, he has restored to the country, as he was determined to do, the use of its native song-forms and dances, which are as much its natural and spontaneous means of expression as is, to use his own words, its mother-tongue.

We may describe Cecil Sharp as a re-creative rather than a creative musician, nor would we contend that his gifts could ever have raised him to the front rank in musical criticism.

With Denis Browne, who was at Clare a generation later, we come to one who, though dying at the age of 26, had already shown an equal power of arousing musical enthusiasm and skill, and to whose potentialities, whether as critic or creator of music, it would have been difficult to set a limit.

William Charles Denis Browne was killed in action, while serving with the Hood

<sup>1</sup> This achievement has found, as it were, public recognition in the formation of the Cecil Sharp Memorial Fund, which was launched in 1924 to provide a headquarters for E.F.D.S. activities. In aid of this fund the "Cecil Sharp Festival" was held at the New Scala Theatre on June 2, 3, 4 and 5, in 1926. The last previous festival had been held at the King's Theatre, Hammersmith, under Sharp's direction, in 1923, but the similar festival which was to have been held in 1924 was abandoned owing to his sudden death. The "All-England Festival, of Folk Song and Dance" was held at London University on January 1 and 2 of 1926, and witnessed by an audience of 2000 persons.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. John Broadwood published a book of Sussex folk-songs before 1860, and was, perhaps, the real starter of the modern folk-culture movement. Between Sharp and Broadwood the firmest bridge was thrown by Baring-Gould.

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Battalion of the Royal Naval Division at the Dardanelles, on 7 June 1915. The younger son of William Denis and Louisa Browne (*née* Hackett) of Leamington, Warwickshire, he was of Irish descent, being grandson of the Very Rev. Denis Browne, Dean of Emly, and great-grandson of the Hon. Denis Browne, whose elder brother became Marquess of Sligo. Both he, however, and Rupert Brooke, with whose name his is inseparably associated, belonged by birth to the English midlands. Contemporaries both at Rugby and at Cambridge, they were comrades in the late war, and prominent members of a remarkable group of friends who came together in the Royal Naval Division, and included Raymond Asquith, F. S. Kelly the musician, and Charles Lister. With Brooke he took part in the Antwerp expedition, and a few weeks after Brooke he perished in the Dardanelles attempt. His wonderful letter describing the burial of Brooke on Scyros on 23 April 1915 was first printed in full in *At Antwerp and the Dardanelles* by the Rev. H. C. Foster. His own death was described as "the second great loss to art" caused by that ill-fated expedition.

Denis Browne, like Brooke, came up to Cambridge in October 1907 with a classical scholarship, but, though he did well in the Tripos, he had sensibly devoted his main activities to music, in which he had received at Rugby a thorough grounding. Holding two musical scholarships, he became the College organist in 1910, and in this capacity his zeal was mainly responsible for the acquisition of the Chapel's fine new organ. His masters were Dr Alan Gray at the organ and the late Dr Charles Wood in composition. He learnt much, too, no doubt from Mr (now Professor) E. J. Dent, whose notable appreciation we print below. His younger contemporaries and intimates at Cambridge included, besides Brooke, Clive Carey and Steuart Wilson, Armstrong Gibbs and Arthur Bliss, all of whom have come to the fore as singers or composers.

From Clare, Denis Browne went as assistant music master to Repton School, where his influence may, perhaps, be surmised from the statement on the front of the programme for the 147th School Concert, 29 June 1912:

It is proposed that the Musical Society's Concerts shall in future be given without any assistance from performers unconnected with the School. This is the first concert to be given without such assistance.

The audience is requested to refrain from all conversation during the performance of all parts of the programme.

Ill-health, however, soon forced him to depart from Repton, and he proceeded to Guy's Hospital, as organist in succession to Clive Carey. To illustrate his success there we quote an appreciation in *The Times* for 15 December 1913 of a concert given by the Musical Society of the Hospital, the standard of which "entitles it to special mention" amongst the best class of amateur and semi-amateur performance,



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for the very particular reason that the programme contained nothing that was not worth listening to and very little that did not receive a finished performance. The society, which is composed entirely of nurses and students, was founded 15 years ago; and, thanks largely to the energy of Mr Clive Carey, its last, and Mr Denis Browne, its present conductor, it now possesses an orchestra of about 15 strings and a chorus of about 60.

Denis Browne, always a musical philanthropist, was also, at this time, an active one, becoming the conductor of a number of musical associations including that of a working-man's college. "An excellent contrapuntist," according to *The Musical Times*, he was also teaching composition.

After returning for a year to Cambridge—to the extraordinary enlightenment, be it said, of many, the athletic 'set' included, *in statu pupillari* at Clare—he took his M.A. in 1914, and once more left Cambridge, "with the reputation of a musician from whom an exceptional career was to be expected."

A more pregnant sense of the possibilities could not, we think, be conveyed than in the notice, given below, which was contributed to the press by Prof. E. J. Dent, under the heading "Two notable songs. William Denis Browne's work." Lest, however, this writer be thought capable of undue partiality, we may preface his statement by quotations from obituaries in several of the leading musical and other papers.

Denis Browne had become, on leaving Cambridge, the musical critic for the weekly *New Statesman* and the monthly *Blue Review*, having collaborated in starting the latter with the object of bringing together the best among the younger generation in literature, music, and the arts. For these periodicals and for *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* he contributed on a widely sympathetic range, being drawn, however, into greatest prominence as a wholehearted advocate of modernist tendencies. *The Musical Times*, recording in its obituary the heavy loss sustained at his death by British music, drew special attention to the

admirably written paper on modern music<sup>1</sup> read by him to the Musical Association, and to the beautiful playing with which he illustrated it. He was essentially a product of Cambridge, in his music as in other things. His most notable qualities were powers of leadership, his fine sense of scholarship, his quick and subtle understanding of all periods. In general he gave promise of becoming a very remarkable influence in the world of music.

*The Times*, too, remarked that

in several brilliant contributions he won success as an explorer, at once intrepid and scientific, of the most modern musical thought.

Another obituary, after appreciating his songs, continues:

It is possible that Denis Browne might have won even wider fame as a writer about music<sup>2</sup>. His essays and criticisms . . . were some of the most admirable pieces of sincere critical journalism of our

<sup>1</sup> This paper was subsequently printed (in *The Journal of the Musical Association* for 19 May 1914) under the title "Modern Harmonic Tendencies."

<sup>2</sup> We understand that Mr Fuller Maitland, who had been asked to write an authoritative history of British Music, had suggested instead that Denis Browne should undertake the *magnum opus*.

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time. He had an easy, lucid style which moved easily over many themes, supported by wide sympathies and knowledge, and enlivened by a real though never overworked wit. He was a wholehearted modernist, and his interpretations of its meaning [*sic*] rank among the most illuminating.

Halfway between criticism and creation comes interpretation, and Denis Browne, who had studied the piano with Miss Ursula Newton, a pupil of Busoni, was "a fine interpreter." One critique noticed "the scrupulous taste with which he accompanied"; another, remarking his "ideal accompaniment," stated that "for distinction's sake his name should be given in red letters, were that admissible." But it is as a composer, above all, that we prefer to remember him. He was "always extremely critical of his own work; he left very few compositions, which he regarded largely as studies in certain aspects of technique" (*Musical Times*). In spite, however, of this rigorous standard and of manifold activities, Denis Browne had, fortunately, succeeded in publishing before the war a short ballet suite, a few songs, and some church music whose quality may be gauged by the fact that Dr Terry had it performed, forthwith, at Westminster Cathedral. One of his "Two Songs," short settings of verse by Tennyson, was commended for "a curious but simple indefiniteness of tonality, clearly a characteristic of the composer," both songs being "well designed, wholly musical, and fully entitled to be termed songs." "Arabia," a setting written in June 1914 to the poem by Walter de la Mare, was his last finished composition, and combines this indefiniteness, here exquisitely exotic, with delicately insistent form. But "Diaphenia," "Gratiana," and the setting of Ben Jonson's "Epitaph on Salathiel Pavy—a child of Queen Elizabeth's chapel"—will rank soon, if they do not already rank, as 'classics.' "Mr Browne uses a persistent figure in his accompaniment, and the voice part is written with a beautiful freedom"; "Salathiel Pavy" was greeted as a "fine legacy of a radiant life cut short at Gallipoli." But "Gratiana" is perhaps the best. Of a modern English song recital given by Mr John Coates in London, five years ago, "C. M." wrote:

For the major part of the evening the singer was greater than the song. There were exceptions, Denis Browne's "To Gratiana singing and dancing" is really noble music. It is sad to think that a composer who could write so beautiful and inspired a song at the age of 25 should have found an early grave. And why is such a song still "in manuscript"? When one thinks of all the stuff that is published...!

Another appreciation ran: "the richly rhythmical chords of Denis Browne's accompaniment are extraordinarily good, and the song proceeds with majesty to a fine end." And five years later, a drastic critic writes of the modern English section of a song recital, at Cambridge, by John Coates: "by far the best song was W. Denis Browne's beautiful 'To Gratiana.' This is, in my opinion, one of the few great songs written by a modern British composer."



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One secret of Denis Browne's success in song-writing was his own deep poetic sensitiveness. The idea of a poem, felt fully in every *nuance*, had every chance, with him, of finding ideal musical expression in 'interior rhythms' authentically evoked. Here he was with Henry Lawes, chief English figure of the early seventeenth century movement which led to Purcell and has come to the fore again of late, towards a more just accentuation of poetry in musical setting. We may note in these descriptions of his songs the use of such epithets as 'noble' and 'majestic.' They were as applicable to his character. The strain of nobility in Denis Browne was recognised by all who knew him, and had he lived he might have expressed in music, as Sassoon, who immediately preceded him at Clare, expressed in poetry, the tragic dignity as well as the cruel futility of the war. But we must be concluding, now, with Professor Dent's appraisal:

Among the many who fell in the great European War were two young musicians, whose early death was a severe loss to the musical life of their country—we refer to George Butterworth and William Denis Browne. George Butterworth had just reached his maturity and although he had written but little, it was enough to show the world that he was one of the most gifted composers whom England has produced.

Denis Browne, on the other hand, was too young to have come into prominence. To a small circle he was known to be a fine organist, a sensitive pianist who might one day accomplish much in that direction, and in addition a remarkably well-read all-round musician. He himself hardly knew in which particular branch of music he wished to specialise. He had begun to interest himself in historical research; he was singularly quick-minded in the appreciation of ultra-modern music. He wrote critical articles for various papers with a penetrating sense of real musical values expressed in a witty and distinguished literary style. He was a capable conductor and an admirable accompanist. It did not really matter what he did, for the fact was that he was gifted not only with outstanding musical and literary ability, but also with a very striking human personality. People with great strength of character and power of concentration are very seldom lovable; Denis Browne was an exception, for he invariably won the heart of everyone who came in contact with him. With this power of attaching followers to himself, with this swift intelligence and unerring aim at essentials in music, with this high and unbending sense of idealism in all affairs of life, he would have been a great force in English music whatever he chose to do.

He left little in the way of written music, and left instructions that it was to be criticised with a severe eye and that nothing was to be published that did not represent him at his best. When one recalls the world-wide enthusiasm that hailed the works of Rupert Brooke after his romantic death in the Aegean, it is easy to see how a similar excitement might have been worked up for the music of that friend who had buried Rupert Brooke only a few days before he was himself to fall. But Denis Browne was far too honest an artist to have wished for such a reputation. He would have hated such uncritical enthusiasm. For this reason I have kept back the manuscripts entrusted to my care. I felt that it was difficult to form a serene judgment on them during the years of war. What was good among them would, I felt sure, survive and shine out in spite of any changes of musical style that might take place in later years. Intensely interested in all modern music, Denis Browne made ceaseless experiments in new styles. He was one of those men in whom intellect controls passion; his music was always carefully thought out and planned. And it is this fineness of conception and conscientious craftsmanship that ensured its lasting value.

Among a host of other modern songs, sung by Mr Coates and by other singers, Denis Browne's songs stand out conspicuously, not by their modernity or violence of expression, but by their serene dignity and noble beauty. "Diaphenia" is a quiet pastoral that pleases the hearer at once by its smooth melodious flow. The musician will note the originality of its rhythm, the skilful handling

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of the pianoforte accompaniment, and the original touches of unexpected harmony. The other song, "Gratiana," is on a larger scale. When Rupert Brooke organised the Cambridge performance of "Comus" for the Milton Tercentenary in 1908, the dances on the stage included a court dance to an anonymous "Almain" taken from a manuscript<sup>1</sup> in the British Museum. The tune impressed itself on the memory of all who took part in the performance. Denis Browne was one of the dancers. Some years afterwards he conceived the idea of using it as a background to Lovelace's poem describing a lady who danced to her own singing.

The song was composed for Mr Steuart Wilson, who was the first to sing it, in the days before the war... On every occasion [when sung in public] it has made a deep and instantaneous impression on the audience. The opening bars of the old English tune harmonised with a daring sense of colour, call up at once a vision of figures from Vandyck or Lely; the voice enters softly in a spirit of quiet contemplation, but rises at the end to a great climax of passionate emotion which dominates the ever-increasing surge of the accompanying dance. But I want to point out that this song, for all its overwhelming emotional effect, was the result of skill and learning. The composer showed it to me in various phases. His first attempt was absurdly ineffective; then gradually the idea took shape in his mind, and after many alterations and revisions the final version was evolved. That was characteristic of Denis Browne. He was not one of those romantic musicians who are supposed to throw off masterpieces in the heat of passion. He was determined to get every detail exactly right; never a note too many, and every note in its precisely appropriate place. That is the scholarship of a musical architect; and its reward is the achievement of beauty.

Still living persons do not strictly come within the scheme of this volume, but our special connection with song must excuse our mentioning the name of W. S. Drew, whose two little books on singing (published by the Oxford University Press) have won much musical esteem. To Clive Carey we have already inevitably adverted, but the mantle of Sharp has fallen so spontaneously and fittingly upon his shoulders, and he has written for the College, to Mr J. R. Wardale's Latin words, so fine a *Carmen Clarensense*, that we cannot refrain from mention of his many activities. Himself an exponent of folk-dancing, he has collected, set, and published many folk-songs and sea chanties, and has given innumerable folk-song recitals, not only in England but on tour in several European countries, with programmes including songs in half-a-dozen foreign languages, his extraordinary facility for which is a special attribute of his equipment. Steuart Wilson and Carey were two of the original creators of the sextet now famous as "The English Singers." Carey has also a number of published compositions to his credit, including some notable song settings. Carey's services to the concerted musical and dramatic life of Cambridge have been, for twenty years, a leading feature in the enjoyment of those who attend and in the calculations of those who arrange such entertainments as Greek plays, operas, etc. As Choregus in the *Birds* of Aristophanes and Athena in the *Eumenides*, and as Papageno in the production just before the war of Mozart's *Magic Flute*, he was perhaps most memorable. Mus.Bac. in 1904, Carey has lately been Director of Singing in Adelaide University, which owes, as we have said, its *conservatoire* to Cecil Sharp.

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book.



## MUSIC: SHEPHERDSON AND WING

It remains to mention briefly two less-known Clare musicians—J. F. Shepherdson and W. H. Wing—the one of Sharp's, the other of Carey's generation, whose deaths took place respectively a little before and a few years after the War.

A College Magazine (vol. VI, no. 2) records that at the Lent Term concert in 1907 "Mr Wing sang two folk-songs from Somerset which were very much appreciated, the more so perhaps because they were unearthed and arranged by a Clare man."

W. H. Wing came of a family much connected with the College, being a descendant of Benjamin Cherry, who founded a scholarship at Clare some 90 years ago. A contemporary here of Cecil Sharp (Wing came up in 1878 and read for a theological 'Special'), he later threw himself with Sharp into the holy work of salving folk-song flotsam. He studied music in Germany, then taught singing in London, Cambridge, and elsewhere, and frequently sang for Sharp at concerts. He had a good baritone voice and rendered folk-song with exemplary simplicity.

Having inherited, eventually, a small property at Market Overton, near Oakham, he gave up teaching—as a profession, that is, for while entering into the general social life of that part of Rutlandshire with unassuming spontaneity, he devoted himself especially to the local encouragement of music. He died, indeed, very suddenly, while helping 'to make things go' at a village 'social,' in 1912, leaving a valuable collection of music to the College Library.

The recent death in Cambridge, at the early age of 38, of John Frank Shepherdson has been an irreparable loss to music in the University, in Clare, and in King's, but, above all, no doubt, at the Leys School, where he was senior music master and a house master, and in the Town, of whose Philharmonic Society (reorganised by himself from the old Cambridge Choral Society) he was conductor.

Shepherdson came up to Clare as organ scholar from an accountancy business rather later in life than is usual, and with a very limited knowledge of music, as he would have been the readiest to acknowledge. He had, however, been a church organist, and was anxious to turn from business to the serious study of music. Working incessantly and assimilating rapidly, he quickly developed a passion for the finest music and the desire and power to excite such passion in others. He became "the best possible missionary that music can have," as was written of him in *The Cambridge Review*. He combined organising ability with musical capacity, and put an unusual vitality at the service of both. Starting as organist-choirmaster at Clare, Shepherdson went to the Leys School in 1916 as music master, his official posts being there, and as assistant to Dr Mann at King's. In a few years he may be said to have "created a great tradition at the Leys, where the standard of music to-day is equal to that of any school in the country," and the "amazing results

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[we quote from obituaries] which he produced from his Bach choir there proclaimed him a choirmaster of the first intelligence."

In 1922-3-4 Shepherdson was treasurer and secretary of the C.U.M.S., and in February 1924 conducted that Society in the B Minor Mass of Bach, an event which he regarded as the greatest in his life. "He had prepared the Society whilst Dr Rootham, the conductor, was in Australia, but on his return Dr Rootham found that Shepherdson had done his work so well that he allowed him to conduct while he (Dr Rootham) sang in the chorus. His great success on this occasion had been, as he delightedly no doubt felt, his crowning achievement."

Though it might not be strictly right to describe him as creative, Shepherdson—again we quote—was "essentially an artist. He had no airs and graces or fads."

This is the simplest of all the characters of intrinsic enthusiasts for art, though it is symptomatic of much plenary experience. Such direct, clean enthusiasm is itself *ipso facto* missionary, for those who show it have become quite single-minded in the zeal of their discovery that art can bring the inestimable recognition of a life created within life, or rather within mere living, and of a life whose new heart, above all, is an interior sense of sanction. If it is on its musical tradition that the College may most congratulate itself in reviewing its recent generations, it is in the degree of this kind of enthusiasm that the essence of that tradition lies, for it makes of its possessors real 'new world' types, "fluid and attaching characters," keen to universalise the most exquisite forms of delight and the most lasting and unassailable experiences of satisfaction. Such men as Cecil Sharp, Denis Browne, and 'Sheppy,' as he was everywhere known, do not occur with perfunctory, calculable regularity; but awareness that a tradition has, somehow, gathered into being, and of the outstanding values in the nature of that tradition, may help to ensure unbroken continuity.



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